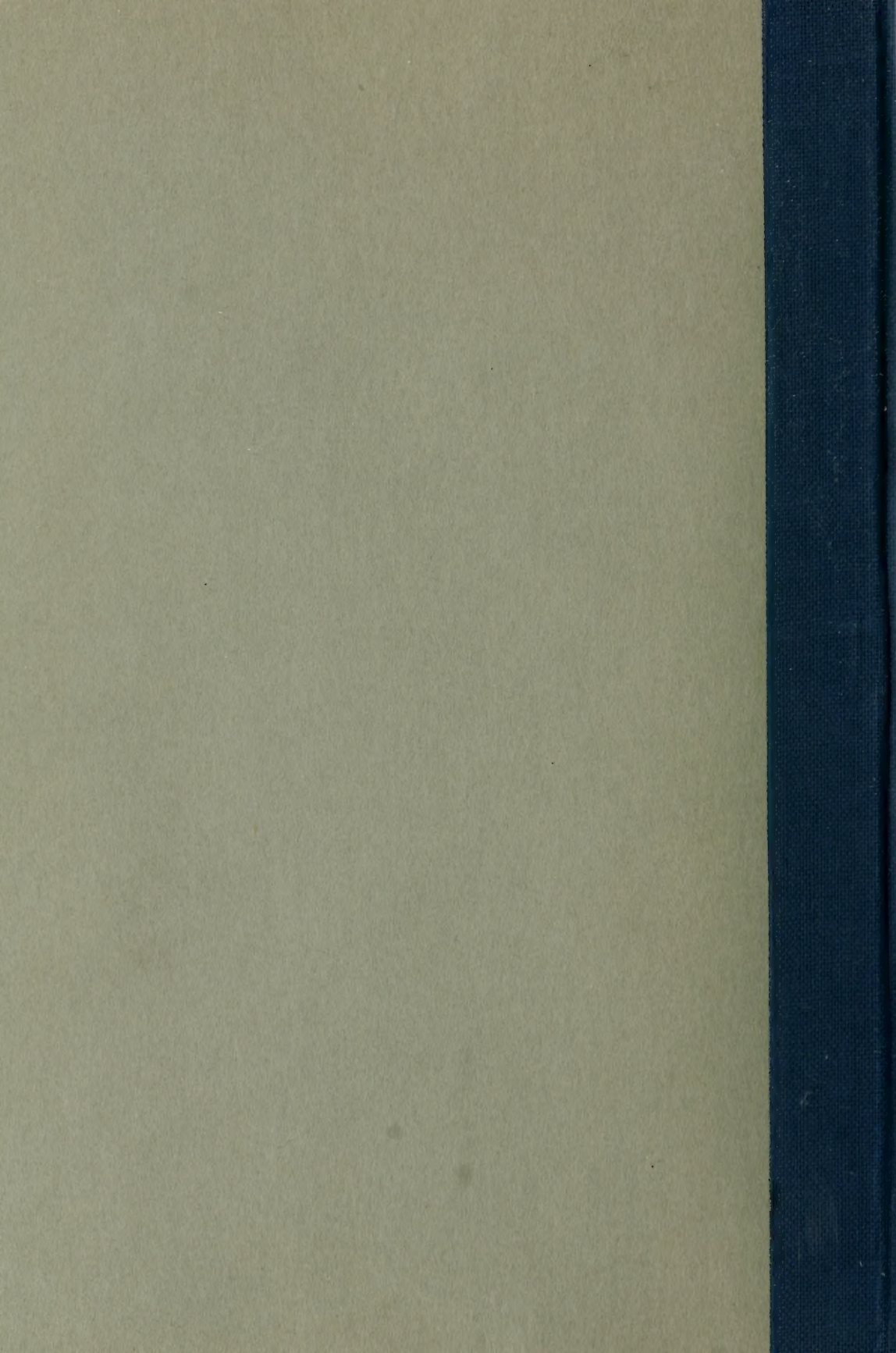


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Grillparzer's
attitude toward romanticism.



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GRILLPARZER'S ATTITUDE
TOWARD ROMANTICISM

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND
LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES)

BY

EDWARD JOHN WILLIAMSON

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Published April 1910

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.

TO THE MEMORY
OF MY PARENTS


PREFATORY NOTE

This study forms Part I of a larger work which will treat of the same subject. Part II will consist of a number of chapters on various romantic problems treated by Grillparzer in his dramas. One of these chapters is now ready for publication and the others will follow shortly.

The author's thanks are due to Professor Schütze of the University of Chicago, at whose suggestion the work was undertaken, for his kind encouragement, and for the many helpful criticisms which he made from time to time.

E. J. WILLIAMSON

HOBART COLLEGE
GENEVA, N. Y.
March 4, 1910



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I. LITERARY AND AESTHETIC VIEWS

Grillparzer never identified himself absolutely with any particular school of poetry. His aesthetic studies, he tells us plainly, are written without any regard for a particular system. "Ich nehme mir bei diesen Anmerkungen vor, ohne Rücksicht auf ein System, über jeden Gegenstand dasjenige niederzuschreiben, was mir aus seinem eigenen Wesen zu fließen scheint. Die dadurch entstehenden Widersprüche werden sich am Ende entweder von selbst heben, oder, indem sie nicht wegzuschaffen sind, mir die Unmöglichkeit eines Systems beweisen" (XV, 9).¹ The point of view that all systems of poetry are incomplete and inadequate is constantly reiterated throughout his works. To him poetry is *one*—classic and romantic are not separate divisions which are at war with each other, but are two complementary principles which must be found united in all genuine poetry. "The discussion with regard to the superiority of classic or romantic poetry," he remarks rather humorously, "appears to me as if a host asked his guests at dinner whether they preferred to eat or drink. A sensible person would of course answer: Both" (XV, 66). In another place he expresses himself as being utterly opposed to the idea that the human mind and the forms in which it appears can be pigeon-holed and registered like an insect collection (XVI, 31). From this point of view he attacks the critics who judge a work according to categories which they have previously set up:

Romantisch, klassisch und modern
Scheint schon ein Urteil diesen Herrn,
Und sie übersehn in stolzem Mut
Die wahren Gattungen: schlecht und gut (III, 201).

Romantic and classic are only means to the apprehension and interpretation of Nature. If one wishes to distinguish between the two, the difference, according to Grillparzer, consists in the fact "that romantic art aims at the effect on the feelings, regardless as to how that effect may be gained; the interesting, the witty, the significant, yes, even the ugly—all is welcomed, so long as the required effect is

¹ References in the text are to *Grillparzers sämtliche Werke*, 5. Ausg. in 20 Bden., herausgegeben von A. Sauer (Stuttgart, o. J.: Cotta).

produced. The ancient (classic) art, however, aimed to produce only the beautiful, i.e., the exaltation of feeling which arises solely from the impression of perfection made on the senses" (XV, 67). Consequently we find in Grillparzer's work many romantic elements, for to him the interpretation of Nature—idealized Nature—was the main thing, and the reproduction of such demands much broader aesthetic principles than those of mere classicism (XVI, 31, 32).

In insisting upon the *oneness* of poetry, Grillparzer's view was quite in accord with the view held by the romanticists and expressed by Friedrich Schlegel. In the *Gespräch über die Poesie* Andrea is made to say:

"Es freut mich dass in dem mitgeteilten Versuch endlich das zur Sprache gekommen ist, was mir gerade die höchste aller Fragen über die Kunst der Poesie zu sein scheint. Nämlich die von der Vereinigung des Antiken und des Modernen; unter welchen Bedingungen sie möglich, in wie fern sie rathsam sei." To this Ludoviko replies: "Ich würde gegen die Einschränkung protestiren, und für die unbedingte Vereinigung stimmen. Der Geist der Poesie ist nur einer und überall derselbe."¹ This remark is taken from a discussion of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* which, according to Schlegel, unites in a wonderful degree the individuality of modern poetry and the classic spirit of the ancients. While Grillparzer could not accept all the statements of Schlegel's famous definition contained in the 116th *Athenäumsfragment*, there are at least two statements contained in that definition of poetry which would meet with his entire approval, viz.: "Sie umfasst alles, was nur poetisch ist," and "Sie kann durch keine Theorie erschöpft werden."²

Quite in accord with his assertion that he does not intend to bind himself to the dogmas of any school is Grillparzer's attitude toward both classicism and romanticism. While he condemns the extravagances of the romanticists, he is at the same time no blind worshiper of things classic. Indeed he raises a protesting voice against those who laud the classics indiscriminately.³ "Diejenigen die sich die

¹ Friedrich Schlegels "Jugendschriften" (1794-1802) herausgegeben von J. Minor (Wien, 1882), II, 382.

² *Ibid.*, 220, 221.

³ Cf. A. W. Schlegel, *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur*, besorgt von Eduard Böcking, 3. Aufl. (Leipzig, 1846), I, 7.

Mühe genommen haben, die Sprachen der Alten zu lernen und ihre Werke zu studieren, suchen sich für ihre Anstrengungen gewöhnlich dadurch zu entschädigen, dass sie ewig von ungeheueren Reichtümern, von unermesslichen Schätzen sprechen, die da verborgen lägen und die sie gefunden; ja jeder Kiesel, der in der alten Welt, so gut als in der neuen, am Wege liegt ist ihnen ein Edelstein" (XVI, 51). With all reverence for the latter, he informs us that he proposes to examine what the idolizers of the classics have to say. The dialogue in the dramas of Aeschylus he considers to be unnecessarily wordy. "In den Wechselreden brauchen die Unterredenden die längste Zeit um sich über die einfachsten Verhältnisse zu verständigen, und was der Zuseher bei der ersten Antwort begriffen hat, wird oft durch zehn Verse durchgefragt, bis die Redenden ins Klare kommen. . . . Später beim Euripides, ja schon beim Sophokles ist es jene Redseligkeit, die den Athenern aus der Gewohnheit an öffentlichen Reden und Gerichtsverhandlungen zum eigentlichen Labsal geworden ist Solche Geschwätzigkeit im guten Sinne kommt selbst in den Dialogen des Plato nicht selten vor" (XVI, 58; cf. also XVI, 85, 86). He also calls attention to the awkwardness and faultiness of composition in Euripides' plays, a feature to which Goethe¹ had already referred (XVI, 78). Even here, however, Grillparzer finds romantic elements. "Die Entwicklungsscene könnte Calderon geschrieben haben, so durch und durch romantisch ist sie" (XVI, 73). Over thirty years later (1853) he wrote the lines:

Romantisch waren schon die Alten,
 Sahn üb'ral die Götter, des Schicksals Walten,

 Romantik weicht von der Dichtkunst nie,
 Sie ist ihre Mutter: die Phantasie (III, 185, 186).

Much sharper is Grillparzer's criticism of the Romantic school in Germany. This was due partly, as Ehrhard² has pointed out, to

¹ Goethe an Zelter, Nov. 23, 1831: "Auf den griechischen Lokalitäten und auf deren uraltes mythologischen Legendenmasse schiff und schwimmt er, wie eine Stückkugel auf einer Quecksilbersee, und kann nicht untertauchen, wenn er auch wollte."

² Auguste Ehrhard, *Le théâtre en Autriche, Franz Grillparzer* (Paris, 1900), 101; cf. also A. Farinelli, *Grillparzer und Lope de Vega* (Berlin, 1894). 277, 278; R. Batka, "Grillparzer und der Kampf gegen die deutsche Oper in Wien," *Grillparzer Jahrbuch*, IV.

his conservative training which led him to cling to the classic forms while striving to combine with them the life and warmth which he found in the romantic poetry of Shakspeare and Lope de Vega; partly also to the influence of his friend and critic, Joseph Schreyvogel. It was the latter, he states in the poem, "An einen Freund" (I, 142), who first gave his work a purpose. In the year 1807 Schreyvogel began to publish the *Sonntagsblatt*, a critical journal which stood for the ideals of classicism and opposed the extravagances of the new Romantic school. Grillparzer acknowledges in this autobiography (XIX, 61) his great respect for Schreyvogel as a critic and confesses that the *Sonntagsblatt* contributed much to protect him from the follies of romanticism. In the matter of form and technique he and Schreyvogel shared the same views (XVIII, 130). The *how*, he considers, is just as indispensable in art as the *what* (XVI, 38). "Nicht der Gedanke macht das Kunstwerk, sondern die Darstellung des Gedankens" (XV, 26).¹ "Die vollendete Form ist es, wodurch die Poesie ins Leben tritt, ins äussere Leben. Die Wahrheit der Empfindung gibt nur das Innere; es ist aber Aufgabe aller Kunst, ein Inneres durch ein Aeusseres darzustellen" (XV, 65). Or again: "Allerdings ist es falsch, dass die Form das Höchste in der Kunst sei, aber das Höchste ist in der Kunst nur insofern etwas, als es in der Form erscheint" (XV, 33).

Thus it was that Grillparzer, while charmed by the life and truth displayed in the works of Shakspeare and Lope de Vega, accepted as models in form the French classicists of the seventeenth century.² He considers Racine to be "ein so grosser Dichter als je einer gelebt hat" (XVI, 123), and deplores the influence of the Shakspearean form on Schiller's *Wallenstein*, which, in his opinion, had it been compressed into five acts would have been one of the greatest works in the world's literature (XIII, 172). From the same point of view he criticizes Fouqué's work (XVIII, 87), and is opposed to those who, following Friedrich Schlegel's assertion "dass die Willkür des Dichters kein

¹ Cf. also *Grillparzers sämtliche Werke*, XV, 27; XVIII, 74; *Briefe und Tagebücher*, herausgegeben von Glossy und Sauer (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1903), I, 290, 295.

² A. Foglar, *Grillparzers Ansichten über Literatur, Bühne und Leben*, 2. Aufl. (Stuttgart, 1891), 9; cf. also R. Mahrenholtz, "Franz Grillparzer über d. französ. Literatur," *Zts. f. französ. Sprache und Lit.*, XII (1890), 291-301.

Gesetz über sie leide"¹ demand the abolition of all rules (XV, 39, 40). In his own works Grillparzer ever strove to combine the life and truth of romantic poetry with perfection of form. "Ich weiss, dass ich es nie erreichen werde, nach was ich strebe in der dramatischen Poesie: das Leben und die Form so zu vereinigen, dass beiden ihr volles Recht geschieht. Man wird es vielleicht nicht einmal ahnen, dass ich es gewollt, und doch kann ich nicht anders" (XVIII, 160). Theoretically at least he was a firm believer in the three unities of the French classic drama² which had been condemned by Lessing and the romanticists. His statements on this subject, indeed, seem to be, as Strich³ has pointed out, a direct criticism of A. W. Schlegel's point of view. "Man thut zwar allerdings gut," writes Grillparzer, "den sogenannten Einheiten der Zeit und des Ortes keine wesentlichen Schönheiten aufzuopfern: wo man ihnen aber treu bleiben kann, soll man es ja nicht versäumen, es gibt der Handlung eine vorzügliche Stetigkeit und befördert das eigentliche Dramatische der Wirkung ungemein" (XII, 66). Although Grillparzer did not succeed as a rule in observing the unities in his dramas, he was firmly convinced of the advisability of doing so wherever it was practicable.

Believing that the form was a very essential feature of art, it was not to be wondered at that the Austrian dramatist should express discontent at the lack of formative power exhibited in the works of the romanticists. Tieck, Arnim, and Brentano wrote merely book-dramas which were diametrically the opposite of his own dramas. In the year 1819 he wrote, referring to the Romantic school whose influence was at that time dominant in Germany: "Die Tongeber unter uns sind, was Jean Paul weibliche Genies nennt. Da fehlt es weder an Empfänglichkeit noch Liebe für das Schöne, aber an Kraft es zu gestalten und ausser sich hinzustellen. . . . Alle grossen Meister aller Zeiten von Shakespeare und Milton bis Goethe waren mehr oder weniger plastisch. . . . Die Formlosigkeit, welche ein Haupt-

¹ *Athenäums* fragment 116; cf. J. Minor, *op. cit.*, II, 220.

² E. Reich, *Grillparzers Kunstphilosophie* (Wien, 1890), 98 f.; M. Koch, *Franz Grillparzer: Eine Charakteristik* (Frankfurt a. M., 1891), 26; *Grillparzers sämtliche Werke*, XVII, 196, 213.

³ *Franz Grillparzers Aesthetik*, *Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte*, herausgegeben von Dr. Franz Muncker (Berlin, 1905), 113 f.

ingredienz der sogenannten Romantik ist, war von jeher ein Zeichen eines schwachen, kränkelnden Geistes, der sich selbst und seinen Stoff zu beherrschen nicht vermag" (XVI, 30; cf. also XVI, 35). For this reason he defends Goethe who had been criticized for his lack of sympathetic appreciation of the works of the romanticists: "Es ist an Goethe hart getadelt worden, dass er sich der sogenannten romantischen Schule, ja den besseren Hervorbringungen derselben, den Genoveven und Oktavianen so hartnäckig widersetzte; er wusste aber wohin derlei führt, er wusste, dass eine Form, die sich vom Stoffe beherrschen lässt, statt ihn zu beherrschen, den Keim der Fratze notwendig in sich trägt" (XVIII, 103). In his criticism of romantic writers Tieck especially receives censure. Tieck is no poet, but a *dilettante* because he is incapable of giving finished form to his poetic ideas (XVIII, 82). "Ein Ganzes zu machen liegt aus der Möglichkeit dieses Menschen" (XVIII, 84; cf. also XV, 35-37). It is that incapacity to give concrete form to thoughts and ideas, so common in works like Tieck's *Zerbino*, that Grillparzer takes exception to in the works of the romanticists. "Allerdings muss jedem Gedicht, wie jedem menschlichen Bestreben, eine Intention, ein Gedanke oder, in höchster Bezeichnung gefasst, eine Idee zum Grunde liegen, andererseits aber soll das Gedicht ein lebendiges sein und alles Lebendig-Wirkliche ist ein Konkretum, der Gedanke aber oder die Idee ist und bleibt ein Abstraktes" (XVIII, 140). The works of great poets like Homer and Ariosto contain thoughts in abundance, but thoughts which are rounded out into a perfect concrete whole. Some of the very greatest poets, it is true, have been successful in making the idea the main thing in the action. Not so the romanticists, however, whom Grillparzer describes as *poetische Stümper* who seize upon gigantic ideas to which they are unable to give artistic expression, because they lack that which every true artist should possess: "Darstellung, Formgebung, Belebung" (XVIII, 141; cf. also XV, 47, 63, 80).

Closely related to and often the cause of this lack of form exhibited by the romanticists was the absolute predominance of fancy and feeling in their work. Romanticism on its one side was a revolt against the all-too-sober and unpoetic age of enlightenment (*Aufklärung*) which tested all things by an appeal to the understanding (*Verstand*), setting

aside imagination and feeling as profitless. The romanticists went to the other extreme and made feeling their final criterion in questions of poetry. Grillparzer was opposed to the unbridled sway of feeling and fancy on the ground that it detracted from the objectivity of poetry and tended to make it abstract and formless. "Die deutsche Phantasie," he states, "könnte man beschuldigen, gar zu gern ins Weite zu gehen und dadurch unbildlich zu werden. Je höher diese Kraft sich versteigt, um so nebelhafter werden ihre Gebilde, bis sie endlich zu blossen Schematen einschwinden, die den Gedanken wohl unterstützend begleiten, aber nicht mehr versinnlichen, nicht darstellen. Der Wert der Phantasie für die Kunst liegt in ihrer Begrenzung, welche die Gestalt ist" (XV, 76, 77; cf. also XV, 64). In thus limiting the rôle of the imagination in art Grillparzer was following the teaching of Kant.¹ Understanding and imagination must go hand in hand (XV, 10; III, 85). At the same time, however, he recognized that without imagination there could be no poetry. "Der Verstand muss die Wirksamkeit der Phantasie zwar allerdings formell leiten, wie es denn der formale Leiter aller unserer innern Vermögen ist; hinsichtlich des eigentlichen Zweckes der Kunst aber kann er uns nicht helfen, da sie nicht auf formale Möglichkeit, sondern auf ideale Wirklichkeit ausgeht und als höchstes Prinzip ihrer Entscheidungen ein dunkles Gefühl des Schönen anzunehmen genötigt ist." (XV, 57). Feeling was for him, as for the romanticists, the main essential in poetry, but it must be in harmony with all the other elements necessary to art. "Verstand, Phantasie, Gefühl und Sinnlichkeit verlangen daher jedes ihre Wahrheit in der Kunst, von denen zugleich aber jede einzelne bedingt und beschränkt wird durch die Möglichkeit der andern, eben weil sie zu einem Eindrücke zusammenfliessen sollen" (XV, 20).

Nor could Grillparzer agree with the theory of the romanticists that there should be no definite boundary lines drawn between the different arts. In a contribution to the *Athenäum* entitled "Die Gemälde" August Wilhelm Schlegel had stated: "Und so sollte man die Künste einander wieder nähern und Uebergänge aus einer in die andere suchen. Bildsäulen beleben sich vielleicht zu Gemälden, Gemälde werden zu Gedichten, Gedichte zu Musik."² The inter-

¹ Cf. *Kritik der Urtheilskraft* (Reclam Leipzig o. J.), 181 f.

² *Athenaeum* (Berlin, 1798-1800), 3 Bde.

mingling of music and poetry was especially characteristic of romantic books. Such is the case, for example, in Tieck's *Liebesgeschichte der schönen Magelone*, in *Zerbino*, and in many of his lyrics.¹ In the overture to the comedy, *Die verkehrte Welt*, in which all the conventions of poetic form are broken through and which is written in the style of an orchestral symphony, the first violin repudiates the idea that it is not permissible and possible to think in tones and to make music in words and thoughts.² Novalis, too, was of the opinion that language should become song, that poetry should pass over into music. In his *Fragmente über Aesthetisches* he writes: "Es lassen sich Erzählungen ohne Zusammenhang, jedoch mit Association, wie Träume, denken; Gedichte, die bloß wohlklingend und voll schöner Worte sind, aber auch ohne allen Sinn und Zusammenhang, höchstens einzelne Strophen verständlich, wie Bruchstücke aus den verschiedenartigsten Dingen. Diese wahre Poesie kann höchstens einen allegorischen Sinn im Grossen und eine indireckte Wirkung wie Musik haben."³ Or again: "Wenn man manche Gedichte in Musik setzt, warum setzt man sie nicht in Poesie?"⁴ Plastic, music, and poetry were for him inseparable elements found united in every true work of art.⁵

Grillparzer's sense for well-defined form made him condemn these romantic theories which led to the creation of that poetry with undecided, vapory outlines, found so commonly in Tieck's work. Speaking of music, he states: "Der oft gebrauchte Satz: die Musik ist eine Poesie in Tönen, ist eben so wenig wahr, als der entgegengesetzte sein würde: Die Poesie ist eine Musik in Worten. Der Unterschied dieser beiden Künste liegt nicht bloß in ihren Mitteln; er liegt in den ersten Gründen ihres Wesens" (XV, 114; cf. also XV, 42, 43). In the same year (1822) he wrote: "Ich möchte ein Gegenstück zu Lessings Laokoon: über die Grenzen der Musik und Poesie schreiben" (XV, 114).

Friedrich Schlegel had stated in his famous definition (*Athenäums-*

¹ Cf. G. Brandes, *Die romantische Schule in Deutschland*, 125 f.; *Die Hauptströmungen der Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Charlottenburg: Barsdorf, 1900), II.

² G. Reimer, *Tiecks Schriften* (Berlin, 1826-46), 20 Bde.

³ *Sämtliche Werke*, herausgegeben von Carl Meissner (Florenz und Leipzig, 1898), III, 37.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 32.

fragment 116) that romantic poetry was a progressive *Universal-poesie* whose destiny it was to unite the separate forms of poetry and to bring them into touch with philosophy and rhetoric. This intermingling of poetic and prose forms, of epic, lyric, and dramatic elements¹ such as is found in Shakspeare's *Pericles* or Tieck's *Genoveva* and *Kaiser Oktavian* was far from Grillparzer's ideal. He did not approve of the intermingling of different forms in a work of art: "Weil jede ihren eigenen Standpunkt der Anschauung, einen anderen Grad der Verkörperung mit sich führt und erfordert, welche, gemischt, sich stören und aufheben: Lyrik, Epos, Drama; Aussicht, Umsicht, Ansicht" (XV, 68). The songs inserted into Tieck's *Zerbino* he designates with the words, "Geklingel und Gewäsch" (XVIII, 82). Also the introduction of loosely connected *Novellen* by Cervantes into his novel, *Don Quixote*, a procedure which Tieck as a romanticist heartily approved of, was, as he points out, considered by the author himself to be inartistic (XVII, 246). He was ever an enemy of prosy poetry and of poetic prose. Chateaubriand's *Les Martyrs* and Lamartine's *Jocelyn* found no favor in his eyes: "Derlei Mischgattungen aber gefallen—ausser denen, die sich eben damit amüsieren wollen—vor allem jenen Halbköpfen, die wahr und falsch, Freisinn und Beschränktheit, Vernünftiges und Traditionelles gern in einen Topf zusammenmischen und, unfähig, irgend etwas rein aufzufassen, alles zu haben glauben, wenn sie aus allem ein Nichts zusammenbrauen" (XVIII, 140).

Even more decided was Grillparzer's aversion to the romantic practice of confounding poetry and philosophy. "Die Poesie mit der Philosophie und Rhetorik in Berührung zu setzen," was, according to Friedrich Schlegel, one of the chief aims of romantic poetry (*Athenäumsfragment 116*). "Poesie und Philosophie sollen vereinigt werden" (*Lyceumsfragment 115*). This union Schlegel finds in Novalis: "Nicht auf der Grenze schwebst du, sondern in deinem Geiste haben sich Poesie und Philosophie innig durchdrungen."² Novalis dwells constantly on the inseparableness of poetry and phi-

¹ Cf. Novalis: "Sind Epos, Lyra und Drama etwa nur die drei Elemente jedes Gedichts und nur das vorzüglich Epos, wo das Epos vorzüglich heraus tritt, und so fort?" (*Sämtliche Werke*, III, 31).

² Minor, *Fr. Schlegels Jugendschriften*, II, 307.

losophy. The poet who is not at the same time a philosopher is for him unthinkable. "Die Trennung von Philosoph und Dichter ist nur scheinbar und zum Nachtheil beider. Es ist ein Zeichen einer Krankheit und krankhaften Constitution."¹ "Die Poesie," he states, "ist der Held der Philosophie. Die Philosophie erhebt die Poesie zum Grundsatz; sie lehrt uns den Werth der Poesie kennen. Philosophie ist die Theorie der Poesie; sie zeigt uns, was die Poesie sei; dass sie Eins und Alles sei."²

Grillparzer, on the other hand, was quite opposed to the introduction of philosophical ideas into poetry. With all their philosophical depth the Schlegels, he states, can never become poets (XV, 36). "Die Wissenschaft hat es mit Begriffen zu thun, die Poesie mit Bildern. . . . Die Wissenschaft sucht den denkbar letzten Grund auf, die Poesie den letzten sinnlich erkennbaren, bildlich darstellbaren, u.s.w." (XV, 98, 99). The predominance of philosophic ideas meant for him the death of poetry (XVIII, 101; cf. also XV, 80). It was for this reason that he found most pleasure in the works of the classics. "Die neuern Dichter, so vortrefflich sie sein mögen, hatten mir immer so viel Beimischung von Prosa, so viel Lehr- und Reflexionsmässiges, dass ich eigentliche Erquickung nur in der alten Poesie fand, wo die Gestalt noch der Gedanke und die Ueberzeugung der Beweis ist" (XVIII, 161). His aversion to philosophic ideas he states in no uncertain terms. "Kein Dichter in der Welt ist wohl je bei Schöpfung eines Meisterwerkes von einer allgemeinen Idee ausgegangen. Das kommt von der beliebten Einmischung der Philosophie in die Kunst. . . . Weh dem Menschen, der auf solches Generalisieren verfällt! Als Philosoph mag er vielleicht etwas leisten, zum Dichter ist er verdorben ewiglich!" (XVI, 55, 56; cf. also XV, 64). This statement, made in 1816, Grillparzer modified somewhat after the year 1834 (cf. XV, 102) in accordance with Kant's conception that the aesthetic idea is the sense-embodiment of the philosophic idea,³ and in an utterance from the year 1843 he states: "Allerdings muss jedem Gedicht, wie jedem menschlichen Bestreben, eine Intention, ein Gedanke oder, in höchster Bezeichnung gefasst, eine Idee zum Grunde liegen, andererseits aber soll das Gedicht ein

¹ *Op. cit.*, III, 29.

² *Ibid.*, III, 29.

³ Cf. Strich, *op. cit.*, 65 f.

lebendiges sein und alles Lebendig-Wirkliche ist ein Konkretum, der Gedanke aber oder die Idee ist und bleibt ein Abstraktes" (XVIII, 140; cf. also XV, 62). Here too, however, he maintains that poetry must be concrete and plastic and opposes the abstract ideas which the romanticists were wont to incorporate in their works. Romanticism, which in 1835 he had characterized as "die faselnd-mittelalterliche, selbst-täuschend-religiöse, gestaltlos-nebelnde, Tieckisch-und Menzlish-unfähige Periode" (XVIII, 101), he still looks back upon in 1844 as "eine erbärmliche Zeit."¹

Grillparzer's opposition to the novel and the folk-song, forms of composition which enjoyed special favor among the romanticists, may also be traced largely to his love for artistic form in poetry. The popularity of the novel among romantic writers was largely due to the fact that it combined all the elements of poetry—epic, lyric, and dramatic. In the *Brief über den Roman* Friedrich Schlegel states: "Es muss Ihnen nach meiner Ansicht einleuchtend sein, dass und warum ich fodre, alle Poesie solle romantisch sein; den Roman aber, insofern er eine besondere Gattung sein will, verabscheue. . . . Ja ich kann mir einen Roman kaum anders denken als gemischt aus Erzählung, Gesang und andern Formen."² This mixed nature of the novel was, as has been pointed out, enough in itself to condemn it in Grillparzer's eyes as a form of art. As a matter of fact he considered the novel to be a *genre* midway between prose and poetry, and therefore as not belonging to the highest kind of art. "Es besteht nämlich die Poesie aus zwei Theilen: Poesie der Auffassung und Poesie der Darstellung; der Roman ist deshalb auch nur höchstens halbe Poesie" (XV, 63). In conversation with Folgar³ he expressed himself even more strongly on this subject: "Mich schauert immer," he says, "wenn ich daran denke, dass die Italiener den Roman bei sich einführen. Durch zwei Jahrhunderte behelfen sie sich, freilich auf eine erbärmliche Art, mit ihren Sonetten; aber es war doch Poesie. Der Roman ist Prosa." Sir Walter Scott's achievements in epic, lyric, and dramatic poetry he considered to be

¹ A. Foglar, *Grillparzers Ansichten über Literatur, Bühne und Leben* (Stuttgart, 1891), 33.

² J. Minor, *op. cit.*, II, 373.

³ A. Foglar, *op. cit.*, 31.

insignificant: "Er ist auf die Erzählung beschränkt; braucht es mehr, um ihn von jeder eigentlich höhern Rangstufe auszuschliessen?" (XVI, 190). The *Novelle*, a form which was very popular with Tieck and the other romanticists, was likewise condemned by him: "Novellen!—Wer schreibt sie nicht? Hat nicht längst das poetische Unvermögen des neuern Deutschlands sich auf dieses bequeme Faulbette breit hingestreckt?" (XVIII, 127; cf. also XVII, 245).

Still sharper is Grillparzer's denunciation of the folk-song¹ and Middle High German poetry. The formlessness and the lack of individuality in popular poetry were repulsive to his artistic sense. Middle High German poetry, with the exception of the *Nibelungenlied*, he considered to be little better than imitation of French models (XVI, 15). He congratulates Austria on the sound sense exhibited in not trying to revive popular works, as had been attempted in Germany (XVIII, 137). Folk-songs, he tells us, are a barbarous form of art (XIII, 186); they are like wild flowers, beautiful in their pristine state, but only weeds when placed beside cultivated flowers (XVIII, 36). To seek inspiration from such sources is like drinking from stagnant pools while the clear spring of poetry (Homer and Shakspeare) bubbles up close at hand (III, 115). Those who, like Uhland, collect popular songs, he compares to the ox to whom the flowers and weeds of the meadow are all grass (III, 116). He parodies the Grimm philological method by seeking to ascribe great antiquity to a meaningless quatrain (XIII, 182-84), and derides the Wolf-Lachmann theory that epics are a development from popular songs. "Kein Epos ging je vom Volk, sondern von einzelnen seltenen, begabten Männern aus, die allenfalls das im Volk zerstreute Sagen- oder Liedermaterial sammelten und zum Ganzen bildeten, mit Hinzufügung eigener Erfindungen (denn zum Nachschreiber sich herzugeben, hat von jeher jeder Begabte verschmäht)" (XVIII, 14; cf. also XVI, 15, 24, 25).

In like manner Grillparzer was opposed to the introduction of a Germanic mythology into German poetry. Friedrich Schlegel had stated in the *Gespräch über die Poesie*² that romantic poetry must

¹ E. K. Blüml, *Volkslied-Miscellen 2, Grillparzer und das deutsche Volkslied*. Herricks Archiv 115, 63 f. The same, *Studien zur vergl. Litgesch.* (1907), II, 191.

² J. Minor, *op. cit.*, II, 357 f.

create for itself a mythology just as ancient poetry had done. The new interest of the philologists of the romantic period in the German past had made itself felt in poets like Fouqué and Uhland, in whose works an attempt was made to revive the old Norse gods and heroes.¹ Grillparzer did not approve of such attempts. Speaking of Scheller's *Mythologie der nordischen Völker* (1816) he remarks: "Ich wüsste nichts, was man mit diesen neblichten Urformen in der epischen und dramatischen Poesie machen sollte; im Lyrischen möchte man sich eher noch ihrer zuweilen bedienen können" (XVI, 35). Here, too, it was that lack of concrete definiteness, characteristic of Norse mythology as compared with the definiteness of ancient mythology, on which Grillparzer based his judgment.

And yet, despite the fact that he hated many of the theories of the Schlegels and a great deal of the practice of the Romantic school, Grillparzer had nevertheless much in his nature in common with the romanticists. As a recent writer² has remarked, the fact that certain thinkers and artists (e. g., Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Ibsen) have been such strong opponents of romanticism often, indeed almost invariably, proves that they themselves have deeply rooted within them the tendencies against which they storm, tendencies which, possibly, they are trying to overcome by such protests. Grillparzer was himself conscious of his double nature and states in his autobiography: "In mir nämlich leben zwei völlig abgesonderte Wesen. Ein Dichter von der übergreifendsten, ja sich überstürzendsten Phantasie, und ein Verstandesmensch der kältesten und zähesten Art" (XIX, 79). His imaginative nature appears strongly in the fanciful dreams and visions of his boyhood (XIX, 13-15), in his love for chivalric and ghost stories (XIX, 19, 20), tales of travel and adventure (XIX, 25). That dreamy character, so common in romantic heroes and condemned by him as the misfortune of the German nation, he was forced to struggle against constantly, for he confesses that it was shared by himself. "Ich spreche hier nicht als einer, dem dieser dumpf träumende Zustand fremd ist, denn es ist der meine" (XVIII, 84). The history of the composition of several of his dramas shows how great

¹ Fouqué, *Sigurd der Schlangentöchter* (Berlin: Hitzig, 1808); *Der Held des Nordens* (Berlin, 1810); L. Uhland, *Die Nibelungen* (Entwurf), 1817, etc.

² K. W. Goldschmidt, "Romantik-Epigonon," *Das literarische Echo*, X, 23, 1617.

a rôle inspiration and *Stimmung* played in his work,¹ so much so indeed that in later life he complained that he had never learned to work properly, but had remained "ein Mensch der Stimmung."²

While romanticism did not take such deep root in Austria as it did in Germany, there was one outgrowth of it at least which made itself felt and which was approved by even such opponents of the movement as Schreyvogel, viz., the fate tragedy.³ To quote Minor:⁴ "Die Schicksalsidee tritt wie die Romantik zu der Zeit auf, wo die Aufklärung ihre Macht über die Geister zu verlieren im Begriffe steht und den Aberglauben, unter den Gebildeten und im Volke, nicht mehr niederzuhalten vermag. Sie stammt also aus derselben Wurzel wie die Romantik, die für prophetische Träume und Ahnungen, für die Nachtseiten des Seelenlebens, für allen Aberglauben jederzeit das wärmste Interesse bezeugt und auch die virtuose Behandlung aller Mittel der Stimmungspoesie vorbereitet hat, deren das Schicksalsdrama bedurfte." Grillparzer's first great drama, *Die Ahnfrau*, belonged to this class⁵ and is clearly romantic. Many of his other dramas are, however, also more or less romantic, as will be shown later more in detail. The impressions of his youth were deeply ingrained in his nature he declared himself in the year 1846: "Die Jugendeindrücke wird man nicht los. Meinen eigenen Arbeiten merkt man an, dass ich in der Kinderzeit mich an den Geister- und Feenmärchen des Leopoldstädter Theaters ergötzt habe" (XVIII, 160). *Sappho*, *Das goldene Vliess*, *Hero*, *Der Traum*, *ein Leben*, *Weh dem, der lügt*, *Esther*, *Die Jüdin von Toledo* and the *Bruderzwist*, all contain romantic elements.⁶ Even those dramas which are usually considered as being most classical in form (*Sappho*, *Medea*, *Hero*)

¹ Cf. *Die Ahnfrau*, XIX, 62 f.; Glossy und Sauer, *Tagebücher*, 138, 139; *Das goldene Vliess*, XIX, 97; Aug. v. Littrow-Bischoff, *Aus d. pers. Verkehr mit Fr. G.* (Wien, 1873), 45; *Tgb.*, 63.

² *Tagebücher*, 88.

³ E. Kuh, *Zwei Dichter Oesterreichs* (Pest, 1872), 38.

⁴ "Zur Gesch. d. Schicksalstragödie," *Grillparzer Jahrbuch*, IX, 14, 15.

⁵ J. Minor, *Die Ahnfrau u. d. Schicksalstragödie*, *Forschungen z. n. Lit.-Gesch.* Festgabe für R. Heinzel (Weimar, 1898), 387-434; J. Volkelt, *Fr. Grillparzer als Dichter des Tragischen* (Nördlingen, 1888), 151 f.; A. Sauer, *Grillparzers sämtliche Werke*, I, 33, 34.

⁶ A. Schönbach, *Gesammelte Aufsätze z. n. Literatur* (Graz, 1900), 147, 148.

are, as Scherer has pointed out, love-tragedies: "Antike Anschauungen, antike Empfindungen, antikes Heldentum, antike Lebensverhältnisse: darauf war es von ihm nicht abgesehen, und jeder Vorwurf, den man hieraus ableitet, ist ungerecht."¹ Speaking of the last-named drama Grillparzer himself says: "Man hat sonderbar gefunden, dass ich dem aus dem Stoffe von Hero und Leander gezogenen Stücke den Titel: 'Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen' gegeben. Mir lag aber daran, gleich von vornherein anzudeuten, dass die Behandlung, obgleich mit antiker Färbung, doch romantisch gemeint sei" (XVIII, 191).

Grillparzer, indeed, was far from being opposed to the romantic element in poetry. He criticizes, as has been pointed out, the lack of form and clarity, the confusion of philosophic and poetic elements, the intermingling of feeling and reflection, of poetry and prose, so characteristic of much of the work of the Romantic school. A few years before his death (1868) he stated that he was no enemy of romanticism, but of the exaggerations of the romanticists: "Romantik: Gehörst du auch unter meine Gegner? Ich: Im Gegenteil. Du unterhältst mich mit deinen bunten Bildern. Aber deine Anhänger haben die Sache doch sehr übertrieben. Romantik: Was wird nicht alles übertrieben? und was geht das mich an? Ich: Und dann der fatale romanische Name: Romantik! Romantik: Nun, so nenne mich auf deutsch! Ich: Wie also denn? Romantik: Die Jugend" (XIII, 187). Romantic and poetic are indeed almost synonymous terms with him (XVII, 169). Romantic poetry he prefers to call *Empfindungspoesie* (XV, 63), and without *Empfindung* he believes that there can be no genuine poetry. "Was dem empfindenden Menschen wahr ist, ist poetisch wahr, und was dem denkenden Menschen wahr ist, ist philosophisch wahr" (XV, 38; cf. also XV, 62). This doctrine, as Strich has pointed out,² corresponds very closely to the view of the romanticists and especially of Novalis. Grillparzer deplores the substitution of *Gedanken* for *Empfindung* in poetry: "Es ist das Grundübel der Poesie (der lyrischen besonders) aller neueren Nationen, dass sie sich zur Prosa hinneigt. Nicht

¹ W. Scherer, *Vorträge u. Aufsätze zur Gesch. d. geist. Lebens in Deutschland und Oesterreich* (Berlin, 1874), 198; cf. also *Grillparzers sämtliche Werke*, XIX, 74.

² F. Strich, *op. cit.*, 34, 35.

dadurch, dass sie trivial wird, sondern gerade, wenn sie sich erhebt. Ihre höchste Erhebung ist nämlich bis zum Gedanken, indes nichts poetisch ist als die Empfindung" (XV, 67). Poetry he defines as "die Empfindung des Verstandes und das Denken des Gefühls" (XV, 55). It is not something that can be appreciated fully by the understanding alone, as the *Aufklärer* had believed. "Weh dem Gedicht, das sich völlig durch den Verstand erklären lässt" (XV, 24). "Ein Kunstwerk muss sein wie die Natur, deren verklärtes Abbild es ist: für den tiefsten Forscherblick noch nicht ganz erklärlich; und doch für das bloße Beschauen etwas, und zwar etwas Bedeutendes" (XV, 40). These and similar utterances Strich¹ has shown to be developments of Kant's doctrine and shared by Schelling and other romantic writers on aesthetics. For Grillparzer the problem to be solved by poetry and art is to bring the world into harmony with the laws of feeling (*Empfindung*) (XV, 38) and that is what he always strove to do in his own works. "Mein Vorsatz ist," he stated in 1838, "der Verstandes- und Meinungspoesie unserer Zeit nicht nachzugeben. Das Bild, die Gestalt, Gefühl und Phantasie festzuhalten und der Unmittelbarkeit der Anschauung zu gehorchen, die splitterrichtende Kritik mag dazu sagen, was sie will" (XVIII, 160). He disapproves of the subjection of the spiritual world to the common laws of matter as is the case in Gervinus' history of German literature: "Der Willkür, der Stimmung, dem Genie, der Laune ist kein Spielraum gelassen, bis aufs Blut wird alles erklärt, und wenn der Mensch bis dahin ein kaum lösbares Rätsel schien, sieht man mit einemmal, dass jede Erscheinung der sittlichen Welt sich nach den Anhandgebungen der Regeldetri und des Einmaleins darlegen lassen" (XVIII, 15).

Like the classicists, Grillparzer believes that art has as its object the representation of the beautiful (XV, 24). His view of the beautiful has, however, as Strich has pointed out,² much in common with the romantic view. Like Bouterweck, Schelling, and A. W. Schlegel he gives up the Kantian division of Beautiful and Sublime and maintains that the Sublime is only a form of the Beautiful (XV, 10). On the other hand, although he objected to the love of the distorted and

¹ *Op. cit.*, 77 f.

² *Ibid.*, 51.

the depiction of the dark side of life found frequently in Hebbel's works,¹ he was not averse to combining the ugly with the beautiful, as the romanticists were wont to do, whenever a new harmony was created by such a combination. Friedrich Schlegel had stated in his work, *Ueber das Studium der griechischen Poesie*, that the beautiful was not the standard according to which modern poetry could be judged: "Dies ist so wenig das herrschende Prinzip der modernen Poesie, dass viele ihrer trefflichsten Werke ganz offenbar Darstellungen des Hässlichen sind."² He admires the intermingling of these two elements in the works of Shakspeare: "Wie die Natur Schönes und Hässliches durch einander mit gleich üppigem Reichtum erzeugt, so auch Shakspeare."³ Grillparzer makes the same distinction between romantic and classic as Schlegel. "Das Unterscheidende des Romantischen gegenüber dem Klassischen ist, dass ersteres bloss die Gemütswirkung bezweckt, gleichviel, auf welche Art sie bewirkt wird; das Interessante, das Geistreiche, das Bedeutende, ja das Hässliche, alles ist ihr willkommen, wenn nur die beabsichtigte Aufregung dadurch hervorgebracht wird. Die alte Kunst aber ging bloss auf das Schöne," etc. (XV, 67). He admires the success achieved by modern art in combining these opposites into a new harmony: "Es ist überhaupt merkwürdig zu beobachten wie die neuere Kunst, verglichen mit der alten, vom Unsinn und der Geschmacklosigkeit ausgeht, und das bunte, absurde Zeug sich nach und nach zu einer Richtung abklärt, die als völlig verschiedener Typus neben den Meisterwerken der Alten würdig und gewissermassen selbständig bestehen kann," etc. (XVI, 179). In his own work he is romantic, like Shakspeare and Lope de Vega, in the way in which he mixes comic and tragic elements. "In seinen Jugendstücken," says Sauer, "streut er nach Shakespearischer Weise unter den ernstesten Szenen komische ein" (I, 75), and Volkelt⁴ has shown that in almost all his tragedies comic elements appear.

¹ Littrow-Bischoff, *op. cit.*, 148.

² J. Minor, *op. cit.*, I, 88.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 108; cf. Victor Hugo on the combination of the sublime and the grotesque in art, *Préface de Cromwell*, *Théâtre* (Paris: Hachette, 1884), I, 21 f.

⁴ "Grillparzer als Dichter des Komischen," *Grillparzer Jahrbuch*, XV, 1-30; also *Fr. Grillparzer als Dichter des Tragischen*, 20, 21.

Also in his view of the supernatural (*das Wunderbare*) and the rôle which it plays in poetry Grillparzer shows some affinity to the romanticists. "Auch das Wunderbare," he stated in the year 1819, "ist der Nachahmung der Natur nicht enthoben." He justifies the employment of the supernatural for poetic purposes on the ground that the objective truth of the picture is relatively unimportant so long as the subjective effect of the same is true. For this reason he admires Calderon's use of the superstitions which have grown up about catholicism, producing through them an effect which is often greater than that which is produced by religion itself (XVI, 32). This view became more and more established with Grillparzer and in 1837 we find him still defending the miraculous and supernatural elements in poetry: "Eigentlich absurde, aber durch ihr immerwährendes Vorkommen als in der innersten Natur des Menschen begründet anzusehende Vorstellungen, daher für die Philosophie verwerflich, für die Poesie aber von hohem Werte: Strafe der Unthat bis ins späteste Geschlecht. Wirkung von Elternfluch und Segen. Vorbedeutende Träume. Das Schicksal, mit Vorauswissen und Vorausbestimmen gedacht. Die Gottheit leidenschaftlich. Eine von den natürlichen Folgen der That verschiedene Nemesis. Wahrsagung. Gespensterglauben. Spezielle Erhörung des Gebetes. Glück und Unglück, objektiv gedacht" (XV, 65). In his youth he showed a preference for romantic poets like Calderon (I, 81 f.), Zacharias Werner, and Müllner, poets whose works are full of such elements. "Die Poesie," he states in his *Autobiography*, "kann des Hereinspielens eines Uebersinnlichen in das Menschliche nie entbehren. . . . Die Alten hatten die grandiose Gestalt des Schicksals; aber auch nur für die Poesie. . . . Diese grossartige Gestalt ist allerdings durch die neueren Religionen zerstört worden, aber die Trümmer davon leben unvertilgbar als Vorbedeutung und Vorahnung, als Wirkung von Fluch und Segen, als Gespenster- und Hexenglauben fort." The use of the supernatural element can indeed be traced in many of Grillparzer's dramas, being particularly conspicuous in works like the *Ahnfrau*, *Das goldene Vliess*, *Der Traum, ein Leben*, *Melusina*, etc.¹

¹ A. Sauer, *Ueber das Zaubersiche bei Grillparzer*. Gesammelte Reden und Aufsätze zur Geschichte der Literatur in Oester. und Deutschland (Wien, 1903), 205-30.

I have so far treated largely of matters having reference to Grillparzer's views on literature and aesthetics. In considering his dramas, however, a number of problems present themselves which show that Grillparzer's bias was toward romanticism. His views of art, love, ethics, fate and guilt, monarchy, nature, the highest good, etc., all show romantic influence and will be treated later in detail. Also his use of language¹ and verse betrays to some extent the same influence. These, however, are special problems which I merely mention here before passing on to one of the most fruitful sources for showing the influence of romanticism, namely, to an examination of the different types of character which Grillparzer prefers to portray in his dramas.

¹ M. Schütze, *Repetition of a Word as a Means of Suspense in the Drama under the Influence of Romanticism*. Studies in German Romanticism, Part I (Chicago, 1907).

II. THE CHARACTERS

In his review of Goethe's *Egmont* Schiller states that the drama may treat of actions and situations, or passions, or characters. Even where there is a combination of all three, one of these features always predominates as the final purpose of the work. The ancient writers of tragedy, Schiller goes on to say, limited themselves almost exclusively to the representation of situations and the depiction of passions. The drama of character, on the other hand, belongs to modern times and more especially to the time since Shakspeare. Shakspeare, with dramas like *Macbeth* and *Richard the Third*, was the first to bring on the stage whole men, and Goethe in his *Götz* and *Egmont* gave to Germany the first example of dramas in which the unity lay neither in the situations nor in any passion but in the character of the hero.¹

In Schiller's own dramas the action is always most conspicuous. Schiller, indeed, rarely succeeds in depicting genuine passion and the characters which he has drawn are not only types, but often abstractions. Speaking of Schiller's characters Mauerhoff² says: "Es sind fortan nicht mehr Menschen, die auftreten und vor uns handeln, sondern kostümierte Wachsfiguren, für die deren Bildner, so gut als seine akademischen Begriffe von der Sache es ihm erlauben, und vor allen Dingen so schön und klangvoll wie möglich, spricht. . . . Seine Menschen wollen nie, können darum auch nicht leiden, vergehen sich aber zufällig in wirklicher oder eingebildeter Art und müssen dafür zu ihrem bitteren Leidwesen mit dem Tode büßen." Ricarda Huch³ was evidently of the same opinion when she wrote: "Unvergleichlich verstand es Schiller, seinen Dramen einen Körper zu geben; aber die Kehrseite ist: auch die Menschen, die er schafft, sind nur Körper, die sich bewegen, handeln und gestikulieren, lachen und weinen; wir sehen ihre Seelen nicht, aus denen all dies wirbelnde Leben herausquillt, hören die Sphärenmusik nicht, die den grossen Reigen des Weltalls innerlich begleitet."

¹ *Schillers sämtliche Werke* (Säkular-Ausgabe, Cotta), XVI, 179, 180.

² *Schiller und Kleist*, 56, 57.

³ *Blütezeit der Romantik* (Leipzig, 1905), 206.

The main interest in Grillparzer's dramas, on the other hand, rests in the characters. His theory of the drama is summed up in the words: "Menschliche Handlungen und Leidenschaften sind der Vorwurf der tragischen Kunst. Alles andere, und wäre es auch das Höchste, bleibt zwar nicht ausgeschlossen, aber ist—Maschine" (XV, 97). Several of his plays, indeed, were adapted to the special actors who were to play the various rôles.¹ Schiller's dramas, which were at one time his ideal, soon ceased to be so.² His own plays have little in common with Schiller's apart from some external similarities in the use of certain motifs.³ In their fundamental structure and especially in the emphasis laid on character and passions they show a much closer kinship with the technique of Goethe and of Shakspeare. Throughout his works, in fact, Grillparzer shows an ever-increasing tendency toward the individualistic and the characteristic—a tendency which Friedrich Schlegel designates as the distinguishing mark of romantic poetry.⁴ The success of the *Ahnfrau* had been attributed by many to the element of the supernatural, to the interesting combination of the robber incidents with the fate tendencies of the work, in short to melodramatic effects. In his next work the poet determined to let his characters speak for themselves. "Ich nahm mir vor, mein nächstes Produkt ein Gegenstück dieses tollen Treibens werden zu lassen" (XVIII, 173). He therefore chose the subject of Sappho, a subject with a plot so simple as to be almost devoid of incidents. Here the chief interest centers about Sappho, Phaon, and Melitta—the plot is purely personal. All his later plays, with the possible exception of *Der Traum, ein Leben* and *Melusina*, betray an ever-increasing interest in the characters and passions. *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* is almost as simple in its plot as *Sappho*; the *Treuer Diener*, as Sauer⁵ has pointed out, is a masterpiece of characterization, while later works like the *Bruder-*

¹ Glossy und Sauer, *Grillparzers Briefe und Tagebücher* (Stuttgart und Berlin), I, 56, 88; II, 13.

² Glossy und Sauer, *op. cit.*, II, 1, 27 f.

³ O. E. Lessing, *Schillers Einfluss auf Grillparzer*. (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 54, 1902); *ibid.*, "Motive aus Schiller in Grillparzers Meisterwerken." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, V (1903), 33-43.

⁴ J. Minor, *Friedrich Schlegels Jugendschriften*, I, 107.

⁵ *Grillparzer Jahrbuch*, III, 23 f.

zwist in Habsburg and the *Jüdin von Toledo* afford examples of individualization which border on realism.

But not only does Grillparzer show the influence of romanticism in that he lays most stress on the psychological development of characters and passions, but the types which he prefers to portray are for the most part romantic types. Almost every critic has referred to the fact that in all his works Grillparzer has not represented a single really strong character. All are imperfect types, mostly inactive and wavering, passive and undecided in nature, or, if active and self-assertive, soon prove their inability to cope with the problems which face them. Instinct and feeling, so prominent in romantic characters, are the ruling principles of their lives. They do not mold the course of events by force of will, but, as a rule, seek refuge from the turmoils and conflicts of life in retirement and contemplation. "Einen Helden des mächtigen Willens, der sich aufreißt in schmerzlichen Ringen mit der widerstrebenden Welt—ja selbst eine aufflammende, verheerende Leidenschaft, die zu furchtbaren Taten spornt, hat Grillparzer nie dargestellt," says Scherer.¹ Volkelt² speaks much in the same tone when he states: "Und in der Tat findet sich unter den tragischen Helden Grillparzers, ausser Ottokar keine einzige Herrschernatur, ja überhaupt kein ganzer Mann, und auch unter den Personen zweiter Linie ist einzig Rudolf von Habsburg ein Charakter, in dem das spezifisch Männliche zu umfassender und kraftvoller Entwicklung gekommen ist." This same characteristic is noted by Schwering,³ who compares Grillparzer's persons with those of Lord Byron and draws attention to the fact that the Austrian dramatist depicts mostly "schwankende Männercharaktere, wetterwendische, der Laune des Augenblicks sich fügende Naturen."

Grillparzer's strongest characters are indeed not men but women. According to Fäulhammer⁴ the strength of his plays is to be found in the admirable depiction of his women, and Scherer⁵ has noted that

¹ Franz Grillparzer, *Vorträge u. Aufsätze zur Gesch. d. geistigen Lebens in Deutschland und Oesterreich* (Berlin, 1874), 214.

² Franz Grillparzer als Dichter des Tragischen (Nördlingen, 1888), 35.

³ Franz Grillparzers hellenische Trauerspiele (Paderborn, 1891), 45; cf. also G. Freytag, *Ges. Werke* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1886-88), XVI, 329.

⁴ Franz Grillparzer (Graz, 1884), 159.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 295.

in representing lofty womanhood the poet's fancy was most powerfully stimulated. Sappho and Medea are infinitely greater than Phaon and Jason, and Hero, Esther, Rahel, and Libussa come in for a much larger share of the poet's sympathy than the various men-characters with whom they are associated. In this regard Grillparzer's genius resembled Goethe's. "Mit grösserem Rechte, als von Goethe," writes Mahrenholtz,¹ "lässt sich von ihm sagen, dass er nur auf die Zeichnung des Weibes sich verstanden habe, die der Männer dagegen bei ihm eine schwächlich-verblasste sei," and Fari-nelli,² comparing the persons of the Austrian poet with those of his favorite Lope, states that Grillparzer's women possess for the most part those qualities which are lacking in his men and which befit the man.

The prominence accorded to women in the dramas of Grillparzer may be looked upon as the result of the gradual elevation of the social status of woman which began toward the close of the eighteenth century and was most zealously preached by Friedrich Schlegel, the apostle of romanticism.³ In the studies *Ueber die Diotima* and *Ueber die Philosophie*, in the Lyceum and Athenäum fragments, and in his novel, *Lucinde*, Schlegel has stated his doctrine on the subject of woman. Like Plato and the Stoics he was a firm believer in the theory that "die Weiblichkeit, wie die Männlichkeit der höheren Menschlichkeit untergeordnet sein soll,"⁴ and condemned the "Knechtschaft der Weiber" as a "Krebsschaden der Menschlichkeit."⁵ The women of the romantic circle, Caroline, Henriette Herz, Dorothea, and Rahel Levin, women of the highest culture and intellectual independence, were the representatives of the new ideal of womanhood, an ideal which was just the opposite of the quiet household sphere of woman praised by Schiller in his *Würde der Frauen*. This new type of woman soon made her appearance in various forms in the literature of the day—in the Thusnelda and Penthesilea of Heinrich von Kleist, in the Judith and Chriemhild of Hebbel, and in Grillparzer's Sappho, Medea, Kunigunde, Esther, and Rahel.

¹ Franz Grillparzer (Leipzig, 1890), 38.

² Grillparzer und Lope de Vega (Berlin, 1894), 288.

³ H. Gschwind, *Die ethischen Neuerungen der Früh-Romantik* (Bern, 1903).

⁴ J. Minor, *Fr. Schlegels Jugendschriften*, I, 56.

⁵ "Lyceumfragmente 106," *ibid.*, II, 198.

Not only are Grillparzer's strongest characters his women but also most of the men whom he has portrayed have something feminine in their nature. For this reason they have often been compared with the men-characters found in Goethe's works. "Unwillkürlich erinnert der Dichter an sein grosses Vorbild Goethe, auch dadurch, dass die männlichen Figuren schwächer oft schwächlich erscheinen," writes Fäulhammer,¹ and Bulthaupt² remarks that in almost all of Grillparzer's dramas the man is the weaker, not the woman. In this regard, too, Grillparzer was at one with the romanticists and opposed to Schiller. The exaggerated idea of *Männlichkeit* which is characteristic of all of Schiller's men was just as distasteful to the romanticists as the super-femininity of the women generally found in his plays. "Männer wie diese," said Friedrich Schlegel,³ "müssten an Händen und Beinen gebunden werden; solchen Frauen ziemte Gängelband und Fallhut." The romantic idea of a perfect character was that of a person who combined within himself the best features of both sexes. As Novalis⁴ stated it: "Der Mann ist gewissermassen auch Weib, so wie das Weib Mann." Friedrich Schlegel was never tired of preaching this doctrine. "Nur sanfte Männlichkeit, nur selbständige Weiblichkeit ist die rechte, wahre und schöne."⁵ He believed that the character of the sexes should not be exaggerated, but rather equalized: "In der Tat sind die Männlichkeit und die Weiblichkeit, so wie sie gewöhnlich getrieben werden, die gefährlichsten Hindernisse der Menschlichkeit, welche nach einer alten Sage einheimisch ist und doch nur ein harmonisches Ganze sein kann, welches keine Absonderung leidet."⁶

Grillparzer's characters correspond excellently to Schlegel's demand for "sanfte Männlichkeit" and "selbständige Weiblichkeit." Sappho, Medea, Esther, Libussa, and Rahel are the leading spirits of the dramas in which they play a rôle, and are infinitely greater than any of the men-characters in the same. On the other hand,

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

² *Dramaturgie des Schauspiels*, 7. Aufl. (Oldenburg und Leipzig, 1904), III, 77.

³ J. Minor, *op. cit.*, II, 4.

⁴ *Novalis Schriften*, herausgegeben von E. Heilborn (Berlin, 1901), II, 2, 506.

⁵ J. Minor, *op. cit.*, II, 321.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 321.

Jaromir, Phaon, Leander, Rustan, Rudolf the Second, Banchanus, Alfonso, and even Jason and Ottokar all belong to the *männlich-weiblich* type. Like the persons in the various romantic novels they are "unstät und wankelmütig" and either lack the power to act or fail to maintain their manly dignity when fortune ceases to smile upon them.

For the purpose of analysis, I have divided the characters in Grillparzer's dramas who may be considered as showing romantic tendencies into three classes:

1. The instinctive type, who follow blindly uncontrollable impulses. To this class belong: Bertha and Jaromir, Phaon and Melitta, Medea, Hero and Leander, Rahel, etc.
2. The quietistic type which turns away from life and seeks happiness in retirement and solitude. Among such are: Rudolf the Second, Matthias, Libussa and her sisters, Rustan, Sappho, etc.
3. Commonplace characters drawn from ordinary life.

I. THE INSTINCTIVE TYPE

The characterization in the *Ahnfrau* is weak, but the type which is represented by Jaromir and Bertha, the two chief persons of the drama, is purely romantic. Both belong to that class of unmoral characters who are so commonly met with in the works of the romanticists. They are both represented as children of instinct who follow blindly the dictates of their own passions, irrespective of right or wrong. The moral significance of their actions rarely enters into their thoughts. In the spirit of the true romanticist they believe in the right of the individual to live his life without the restriction of any law save that of his own free and untrammelled personality, the dictates of which they follow unswervingly.

From the very first Bertha is pictured as yielding entirely to her natural instincts. On awakening from her swoon and finding herself secure from the robbers who had threatened her life, she gives herself up whole-heartedly and without a thought to a perfect stranger, to whom she feels irresistibly attracted like the steel to the magnet:

Wie ein Kind am Mutterbusen,
Hing ich an des Teuern Lippen,
Seine heissen Küsse trinkend (IV, 22).

It would almost seem as if she had partaken of some magic potion, so all-absorbing is this passion in her life. The count, her father, is struck by it but accepts it as something inevitable:

Wie sie glüht,
Wie es sie hinüberzieht!
Aller Widerstand genommen,
Und im Strudel fort geschwommen.
Nun wohlan, es sei! (IV, 48, 49).

Despite her intense longing for Jaromir, however, she has at certain moments a feeling that all is not well. An inner voice whispers to her that her love is criminal, but she has not the power to resist. Like the romanticists she does not believe that she is acting freely but feels that she is in the grasp of a power which keeps driving her on in spite of herself:

Doch will ich mich ihm entziehen,
Trifft sein Blick mich weich und warm,
Mit dem Willen, zu entfliehen,
Flieh ich nur in seinen Arm (IV, 65).

Even after she learns that Jaromir is a robber and the captain of the band who have perpetrated so many cruelties—the man whom her father and the soldiers are hunting down like a wild beast, her passion for him soon overcomes all other considerations. For his sake she is ready to desert her father and, forgetful of filial duties and moral obligations, would flee with him to the uttermost parts of the earth.

In thus deciding Bertha is yielding to her natural impulses. It is interesting to note how Grillparzer has traced step by step the development which goes on within her. She is a prey to conflicting emotions. She feels that all is lost, and yet she cannot bear to be separated from her lover; she knows that she ought to detest him, and yet she cannot help loving him. "Himmel! Fort!" she exclaims (IV, 76); but when Jaromir, taking her at her word, is about to leave with the desperate resolve of surrendering himself up to justice, she springs to her feet and checks him. Her voice, her look betrays her love and he feels that there is still something to live for. She still attempts to resist when he tries to take her hand, but soon, moved by his entreaties and by the passion which she has for him, surrenders completely with the exclamation: "Jaromir, ach! Jaromir!" (IV, 79). From now

on she has lost all power of resistance and yields to everything which he suggests:

BERTHA. Fliehen soll ich?
 JAROMIR. Kann ich bleiben?
 Kann ich fliehen ohne dich?
 BERTHA. Und mein Vater?
 JAROMIR. Weib und ich?
 Wohl so bleib: auch ich will bleiben.
 Hier, hier sollen sie mich finden,
 Fassen, würgen, fesseln, binden.

 BERTHA. Ach, halt ein!
 JAROMIR. Du willst?
 BERTHA (halb ohnmächtig). Ich will! (IV, 80).

In Jaromir we have depicted a typical romantic robber, a man capable of the boldest and most bloodthirsty deeds and at the same time a dreamer who loves solitude and brooding. He belongs to the same family as Selim whom Byron has described in the *Bride of Abydos*—a youth in whom the trained eye of a Giaffir, accustomed to discern warriors can see no signs of "aught that beseems a man."¹ And yet, like Selim, Jaromir turns out to be the dreaded leader of a fierce band of robbers, a wonderful mixture of the romantic *männlich-weiblich* type. We first hear of him in Bertha's account of how she was drawn farther and farther into the woods by the sound of a lute:

Klagend, stöhnend, Mitleid flehend,
 Mit der Tonkunst ganzer Macht,
 Girrend bald gleich zarten Tauben
 Durch die dichtverschlungenen Lauben,
 Bald mit langgedehntem Schall
 Lockend gleich der Nachtigall,
 Dass die Lüfte schweigend horchten
 Und das Laub der regen Espe
 Seine Regsamkeit vergass (IV, 21).

In response to her cry of distress, when attacked by the robbers, a young man springs forth from the thicket near by, a sword in his right hand, in his left a lute. The dreamer who, just a moment before, had been pouring forth his longings in the melancholy tones of the lute is transformed suddenly into a veritable tiger who, single-handed

¹ Cf. Wyplel, "Byron and Grillparzer," *Grillparzer Jahrbuch*, XIV, 26 f.

and almost without striking a blow, puts to flight a whole band of murderers. Such is Jaromir—a man of moods.

A man with a temperament like this is, as one would naturally expect, ruled by his impulses. Although in danger of betraying himself to the soldiers who are seeking him, he defends most warmly against the Hauptmann the robbers, in whom he sees fallen brothers. Again when he hears the conflict going on between his men and the soldiers, heedless of the fact that he is not only risking his own life, but also the happiness of Bertha and the honor of Count Borotin who has received him into his house and has even consented to an alliance with his daughter, the warlike instinct within him, the joy of battle takes possession of him and he rushes headlong into the fray. Throughout the whole play he is represented as yielding to wild impulses. He is a law unto himself, a man who is not willing to submit even to the laws of nature, much less to human law. Even after he learns that Bertha is his sister his passion for her will brook no check:¹

Sie muss ich, ja sie besitzen,
Mag der Himmel Rache blitzen,
Mag die Hölle Flammen sprühn
Und mit Schrecken sie umziehn.
Wie der tolle Wahn sie heisse,
Weib und Gattin heisst sie hier
Und durch tausend Donner reisse
Ich die Teure her zu mir (IV, 118).

"Alle Glieder des Hauses Borotin," writes Alfred Klaar,² "werden von Stimmung und Trieb beherrscht, all ihr Tun ist von der Hast der Leidenschaft eingegeben, all ihr Hoffen ist ein Begehren, das für todgeweihte, trotzig Naturen typisch ist."

The instinctive love which takes possession of both Bertha and Jaromir, almost before they have rightly seen each other, is a favorite theme with Grillparzer. In *Sappho* the love between Phaon and Melitta is, to be sure, of a slower growth but it is none the less instinc-

¹ Jaromir is a parallel character to Eusebio in Calderon's *Devocion de la Cruz*. Cf. Eusebio's words to his sister Julia:

Trotz des Himmels Schirm und Walten
Julia muss ich dich besitzen (Reclam, Leipzig, 38).

² *Grillparzers Leben und Schaffen* (Berlin, 1903), 51.

tive. The banquet scene, at which Melitta is described as having spilled on the floor the wine which she was to present to Phaon (IV, 159), was not calculated, according to the author's own statement, to excite love but served merely "die Aufmerksamkeit des jungen Paares aufeinander rege zu machen und sie in jenen Zustand des Berührtseins zu bringen, das der Liebe den Weg bereitet" (XVIII, 177). While it is true that the young people are not yet conscious of love, they have nevertheless been much impressed by each other. Phaon becomes dreamy and melancholy and leaves the feast to seek solitude for his conflicting thoughts. His feelings are confused and he tries to make clear to himself the significance of the various events of the past few days. Sappho's love does not entirely satisfy him. He thinks longingly of his parents whom he has left in ignorance of his fate, and of something else which he does not mention—possibly the little slave girl who acted so strangely at the banquet. Melitta, too, is filled with indefinite longings. The handsome stranger has made a very deep impression upon her, although as yet she is but half, if at all, conscious of the real significance of their meeting. In her soliloquy and in the following conversation with Phaon she gives expression to her aspirations. Her longings for her native land are in reality only the form which her desire for love assumes. She feels that she is a stranger in the land of her adoption; she is pitied but not loved. It is the desire for love which makes her recall her happy childhood, passed in a land the very name of which she has forgotten and which is known to her only by its flowers and valleys. It is the land, she believes, from where the sun comes, an ideal land, embodying all her ideals of love and of the lovely:

Von andern Bäumen war ich dort umgeben,
Und andre Blumen dufteten umher,
In blauen Lüften glänzten schönre Sterne,
Und freundlich gute Menschen wohnten dort (IV, 162).

Melitta here gives expression to the same desire for love and happiness which we find expressed by Goethe's Mignon.

Even after the rose scene in which Phaon kisses her, Melitta is not fully conscious of love, but it is clear that the feeling is growing within her. She even displays a tinge of jealousy when he asks her for one of the roses which have been picked for Sappho:

Wie? diese hier,
 Die jene wilden Mädchen dort gepflückt,
 Sie, die bestimmt für—Nimmermehr! (IV, 166).

The rose which she gives him in return for his gift must be picked by her own hands. Her following actions are represented as being perfectly instinctive and without any thought of love. She feels very happy, but does not stop to consider why she feels so. She bathes in the brook and goes back to the house singing. There she dresses herself carefully but simply and appears so beautiful as to even call forth an exclamation of approval from the lips of the jealous Sappho. Throughout the whole scene, however, she appears unconscious of any reason why she should have done all these things. When Sappho asks her why she considers this a day for celebration, she replies:

Warum?—Ei nu, dass du zurückgekehrt,
 Dass du—ich weiss nicht recht, doch fröhlich bin ich (IV, 182).

Sappho of course thinks that she is dissimulating, but nothing is further from Melitta's mind than the intention to deceive. When she states that her age is sixteen instead of fifteen this also is done quite unconsciously. She becomes fully conscious of her love for the first time when Sappho demands from her the rose which she has received as a memento from Phaon. Then only does she realize what this small token means to her and she would rather die than part with it.

Phaon is also represented as being only half conscious of his feelings toward Melitta. Grillparzer has himself expressed his purpose here when he stated: "Selbst als er Melitten schon geküsst hat, ist ihm seine neue Leidenschaft noch nicht klar, erst Sapphos Aeusserung bei der Erzählung seines Traumes hellt ihn auf, und seine Liebe tritt heraus als er Melitten vor Sapphos Dolche schützt" (XVIII, 177). When Sappho wakes him from the sleep in which such beautiful dreams have hovered about him he cannot understand why she is so sad:

Du bist so trüb! Was fehlt dir? Ich bin froh (IV, 175).

He is filled with a feeling of happiness which surpasses anything that he has hitherto experienced. The sun seems to shine more brightly than usual, the sea is more sparkling, all nature is radiant with a

heavenly beauty, and everything speaks to him of love. He even feels more kindly toward Sappho than ever before:

Und glaube mir, ich war dir nie so gut,
So wahrhaft, Sappho, gut, als eben jetzt (IV, 176).

That it is love which has wrought this great change in him is clear, but his confused dream shows that he is not yet perfectly conscious that Melitta is the object of it all. He is indeed greatly startled when Sappho bursts in with the word "Melitta!"

Fast hast du mich erschreckt!—Wer sagte dir,
Dass sie es war?—Ich wusst' es selber kaum! (IV, 177).

Not until he is called upon to defend Melitta's life against her mistress does he realize clearly his feelings toward her and he bursts forth in bitter reproach against Sappho (IV, 187, 188).

Medea, too, betrays much of the same instinctiveness in her relations with Jason which has been noted in the case of Bertha and Jaromir and of Phaon and Melitta. Here again, as with so many of Grillparzer's characters, it is love at first sight. She first meets Jason in the tower into which he has forced an entry and is drawn to him irresistibly. When her brother rushes in with his followers and is about to throw himself upon the intruder she instinctively restrains him and thus gives the enemy of her country a chance to escape. Jason is quick to observe the solicitude for his safety which she has unconsciously betrayed:

Du sorgst um mich? Hab Dank, du holdes Wesen!
Nicht für die Hilfe, ich bedarf sie nicht,
Für diese Sorge Dank (V, 54).

The silent workings of this new love, of which she is still unconscious, is seen in the wonderful softening of Medea's whole nature. When one of her maidens informs her, with fear and trembling, that her favorite horse is missing, instead of giving way to rage, as was her wont, she answers gently: "Es ist gut" (V, 57). Peritta, who had previously been driven out of her presence in disgrace because she had yielded to feelings of love, is now welcomed as a dear friend for whose misfortunes she evinces deep concern. And yet she is not fully conscious of the reason of this change which has come over her;

she still believes that the midnight visitor in the tower was the god Heimdar.

When at last she is forced to believe that it was Jason, the Greek, who had visited her and who had been so bold as to kiss her, she is filled with a sense of injured dignity and in a flash of anger declares herself ready to avenge the insult:

Gebeut!

Willst du vernichten die Schar der Frevler,
Sage nur, wie, ich bin bereit (V, 63).

Despite her desire for revenge, however, when Jason is about to drink of the poisoned cup which she is presenting to him at the command of her father, she is once more overcome by an uncontrollable feeling and instinctively warns him that destruction lurks in the wine (V, 75).

All through the following scene Medea is struggling against her instincts. Like Bertha in the *Ahnfrau* she feels that she ought to detest him whom she cannot help loving. She calls her father and brother to arms that the invaders may all be slain or driven away, and yet she wavers when her father demands that she shall accompany him on the work of destruction. It is her earnest wish to avoid what she feels to be the voice of destiny. She therefore beseeches her father to send her away into the interior, far into the woods and dark ravines, where no eye can penetrate and no voice disturbs the solitude. There she will abide and pray to the gods for victory. She cannot trust herself so long as she is in the neighborhood of Jason. Like the romantics she feels that she is not free in her actions, feels that there is a force of fate within her which keeps driving her on in spite of herself:

Man sagt—und ich fühle, es ist so:
Es gibt ein Etwas in des Menschen Wesen,
Das unabhängig von des Eigners Willen,
Anzieht und abstösst mit blinder Gewalt;
Wie vom Blitz zum Metall, vom Magnet zum Eisen,
Geht ein Zug, ein geheimnisvoller Zug
Vom Menschen zum Menschen, von Brust zu Brust.
Da ist nicht Reiz, nicht Anmut, nicht Tugend, nicht Recht,
Was knüpft und losknüpft die zaubrischen Fäden:
Unsichtbar geht der Neigung Zauberbrücke,
So viel sie betraten, hat keiner sie gesehn!

Gefallen muss dir, was dir gefällt;
 So weit ist's Zwang, rohe Naturkraft.
 Doch steht's nicht bei dir, die Neigung zu rufen,
 Der Neigung zu folgen steht bei dir,
 Da beginnt des Wollens sonniges Reich,
 Und ich will nicht! (V, 82).

Despite all her efforts to avoid Jason, fate seems to drive her into his very presence. The bridges have been washed away by the storm of the previous night and, in order to reach the place of retirement to which her brother is conducting her, she must pass close to the camp of the Greeks. The party is surprised by Jason and Medea is made prisoner. In desperation she seizes spear and shield and rushes upon Jason with the cry: "Kill or die!" When her spear is shattered she draws a dagger, but she is helpless against him. Casting away his arms, he lays his life in her hands and challenges her to kill him if she can. She stands before him powerless and although she struggles long against the love which draws her to him she finally forsakes father and country and, bearing with her the parental curse, follows him.

In the latter part of the trilogy Medea's natural feelings burst forth from time to time¹ although she tries to keep her passions under control as much as possible. When she sees herself rebuffed on every side, however, her old nature gains the upperhand and she yields blindly to the impulse to revenge herself on those who have made her life unbearable:

GORA. Was also sinnest du?
 MEDEA. Ich geb' mir Mühe, nichts zu wollen, zu denken;
 Ob den schweigenden Abgrund
 Brüte die Nacht! (V, 178).

There is room for nothing in her soul except the one wild passion for revenge:

So viel weiss ich, und so viel ist mir klar:
 Unrecht erduldet' ich nicht ungestraft;
 Aber was geschieht, weiss ich nicht, will's nicht wissen! (V, 182).

Karl Goedeke² has well described this outburst of passion to which Medea yields: "Von allen, mit denen sie in Berührung kommt,

¹ Cf. *Grillparzers sämtliche Werke*, V, 146, 168, 175, 198 f., etc.

² *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* (Dresden, 1881), III, 389.

wie ein grauenvolles Wesen gemieden, von den eigenen Kindern, die sie mit liebkosenden Drohungen zu locken wähnt, geflohen, und doch ihrem Willen nach ein liebendes Weib, eine liebende Mutter, heftig in aller Liebe und in hingebender Demut, stets von dem Gefühl ungerecht erlittenen Leides überwältigt, ist sie unfähig die stets gehäuften Qualen zu tragen. Sie wirft die mühsam erstrebte Fassung weg und mit ihr die Weiblichkeit, die Sanftmut, die Geduld, die Liebe zu dem Gatten, und den Kindern, die Schonung der Fremden, ja die eigene Schonung und giesst die gefüllte Schale der Rache über alle die aus, um deren Duldung oder Liebe sie vergebens gerungen, unter deren Kränkung, Gleichgültigkeit, Hass und Verachtung sie unerhört gelitten hat."

Again in *Hero and Leander* Grillparzer has depicted two characters who follow the dictates of natural passion. "Jeder folgt mit einer gewissen Verblendung der einseitigen Richtung in welche sein Charakter ihn der gegebenen Situation gegenüber drängt und treibt."¹ Her very determination to become a priestess *Hero* confesses has been due to the promptings of an instinct of which she has been only half conscious:

Vielmehr ein glücklich Ungefähr hat mich,
Nur halb bewusst, an diesen Ort gebracht (VII, 12).

Her words are the expression of her highest reason; her actions, on the other hand, are based entirely on feeling and instinct. That is the case, for example, in the dove scene (VII, 21, 22). *Hero* has declared her firm determination to serve the goddess who is the enemy of all earthly love. She betrays her true instincts, however, when she caresses the dove which the priest wishes to drive away from the precincts of the temple because it symbolizes earthly love. So it is also in her relations toward *Leander* which form the central theme of the drama.

On the very morning on which she was to renounce forever the world and human love she is attracted by two youths who are gazing

¹ W. Scherer, *Franz Grillparzer, Vorträge und Aufsätze zur Geschichte des geistigen Lebens in Deutschland und Oesterreich* (Berlin, 1874), 257; cf. also A. Sauer, *Akademische Festrede zu Grillparzers 100. Geburtstag*, Gesammelte Reden u. Aufsätze zur Gesch. d. Lit. in Oesterreich u. Deutschland (Wien und Leipzig, 1903), 126: "Auch hier ein Schicksal, aber das Schicksal der unbezwingbaren, unüberwindlichen Neigung."

in through the grated door of the temple. One of these is Leander and, judging from her conversation with Janthe and her uncle, it would seem that he had made a much deeper impression upon her than she cares to admit even to herself. At the consecration ceremony in the temple this youth appears again and as Hero stands before the altar of Hymen their eyes meet. She stops short in the speech in which she is about to renounce marriage and forgets in her confusion the formula which she ought to repeat. She is visibly affected and before leaving the hall her eyes turn instinctively to the spot where Leander is kneeling (VII, 29).¹ A single glance is sufficient to draw them together just as is the case in Shakspeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, in Heinrich von Kleist's *Penthesilea* and *Käthchen von Heilbronn*, or in Richard Wagner's² various musical dramas. "Die holde Leidenschaft der Liebe erbrennt plötzlich wie Feuer in den Seelen," says Gustav Freytag³ in speaking of Grillparzer's characters, "sie erfüllt das ganze Sein der Menschen, nur in ihr ist fortan das wahre Leben der Liebenden, welche wie Begeisterte, Traumselige dahinwandeln."

Hero does not seem to be at all conscious of love. Like the other characters, already discussed, she is perfectly passive throughout. Her true feelings, however, betray themselves continually in her various actions. When she appears in the second act she is singing to herself a love-song of Leda and the swan while engaged in her priestly duties. On becoming conscious of her action she remarks that her uncle objects to this song, but adds: "Was schadet's nur?" (VII, 37). When she sees Leander and Naukleros in the temple grove she assumes a tone of dignity as priestess but gradually her

¹ In a conversation with Leander soon after this incident Naukleros draws his friend's attention to Hero's action and divines its meaning:

Da stockte sie, die Hand hing in der Luft;
Nach dir hin schauend, stand sie zögernd da,
Ein, zwei, drei kurze, ewige Augenblicke.
Zuletzt vollbrachte sie ihr heilig Werk,
Allein noch scheidend sprach ein tiefer Blick,
Im herben Widerspruch des frost'gen Tages,
Der sie auf ewiglich verschliesst der Liebe: (VII, 34).

² Cf. Elsa and Lohengrin, Senta and the Holländer, Siegmund and Sieglinde, Siegfried and Brunnhilde, Tristan and Isolde, Eva and Walther.

³ *Gesammelte Werke* (Leipzig, 1886-88), XVI, 326.

natural feelings gain the upperhand. She remains haughty so long as she is addressing Naukleros; as soon as Leander speaks, however, she becomes much gentler:

Du hast dich schlimm beraten, guter Jüngling,
Und nicht die richt'gen Pfade ging dein Herz (VII, 38, 39).

Her words betray pity for the misguided youth before her and this pity makes her yield gradually to Naukleros' entreaties. To his request to be seated she replies: "Es ziemt sich nicht," but when urged to do so for Leander's sake she finally consents. Although she declares her intention to remain true to the vows which she has made there is an unmistakable tone of regret in her speech, when she says: "Noch gestern, wenn ihr kamt, da war ich frei," and when she advises Leander in the words:

Gönn einem andern Weibe deinen Blick
Und freu dich dessen, was uns hier versagt (VII, 40).

When Leander throws himself at her feet she is not really offended but questions the propriety of his act under the circumstances. Throughout the whole scene she has been yielding but she first becomes conscious of the fact when she sees her uncle approaching—

Er wird mich schelten,
Und zwar mit Recht, warum gab ich euch nach? (VII, 41).

On being asked by her uncle what she is doing here, she instinctively says what is not true in order to shield Leander:

Sieh nur! ein kranker Mann (VII, 41).

According as Hero's instincts gain the upperhand, her enthusiasm for the priestly office diminishes. "Hier also, hier!" is the only reply she vouchsafes to her uncle's description of the sublime life to which she has been called. Her indifference to his enthusiastic words makes him remark that she must be dreaming. Now that she has gained the height of her ambition he is surprised to find her silent and cold. Indeed a great change has come over Hero. She is no longer so confident of the absoluteness of her will as she was in the first act, before she met Leander (cf. VII, 12). Like Medea she has been forced to recognize a something in her life which, independent of will, attracts and repels with blind force. She feels that there is a

force working within her of which she is but half conscious and which she is powerless to control:

Du weisst, mein Ohm, wir sind nicht immer Herr
 Von Stimmungen, die kommen, wandeln, gehn,
 Sich selbst erzeugend und von nichts gefolgt (VII, 46).

She hopes, however, to attain in retirement that composure which is lacking at present. In place of her former enthusiasm for her office there remains only a sense of duty.

Although the idea of love has not yet clearly formulated itself in Hero's mind, she nevertheless feels attracted to Leander and confesses that, if she were not a priestess consecrated to the service of the goddess, he might possibly find favor in her eyes. She checks herself immediately, however, for what men call *Neigung* is something which must be avoided by her. She is glad that Leander is away and congratulates herself that she can now forget the whole affair. And yet she is restless; everything about her seems so empty and lonely. Her thoughts revert constantly to the youth on the other side of the Hellespont and she expresses the hope that her lamp may, like a star, shine through the night to the distant shore. Once more she hums the love-song of Leda and the swan and wonders why it is that this song is always recurring to her. Like the romanticists she would like to express her thoughts in music:

Gedanken, bunt
 Und wirr, durchkreuzen meinen Sinn,
 In Tönen lösten leichter sie sich auf (VII, 50).

Leander is still uppermost in her thoughts, but she tries to persuade herself that her concern for him is disinterested:

Ich will dir wohl, erfreut doch, dass du fern;
 Und reichte meine Stimme bis zu dir,
 Ich riefte grüssend: gute Nacht! (VII, 50).

The following scene shows the gradual surrender of Hero to her natural feelings and instincts. She cannot help being greatly affected by the deep proofs of love which Leander has given in swimming across the Hellespont and in climbing up to her window, risking almost certain death just to see her again. Her anxiety for his safety increases every moment. When footsteps are heard approaching and it is necessary for him to conceal himself, she hesitates about letting him

enter her sleeping apartment but, as the danger is imminent, she yields even this point. From now on there is a struggle going on within her between her sense of reason and her feelings of duty on the one hand and her love and natural instincts on the other. She rebukes Leander for having destroyed the harmony which had hitherto reigned in her soul, but, realizing suddenly the dangers which he had braved and those which still lay before him, all for love of her, her feelings change almost abruptly and she beseeches him to return home by a safer route than that by which he had come. And yet, in betraying such an interest, she feels that she is sinning against her vows and forsaking the path of reason. It was Grillparzer's intention, however, to illustrate here once more his conviction that the passions and instincts are just as divine as reason.¹ The victory is never in doubt for a moment. Compassion and pity for Leander are followed by anxiety for his safety and recognition of the great sacrifices which he has made for her sake. She cannot refuse his request to visit her again. At first she proposes that he come on the anniversary of this festival, then, to his demand for a nearer date, she suggests the evening of the next full-moon. When, however, Leander insists that all these dates are too far distant, she surrenders entirely and says: "Come tomorrow then" (VII, 58). This is the climax. Till now there has been a conflict in her soul between the natural passions and reason, between the woman Hero and the priestess. Her natural feelings have been gradually gaining ground all along the line and now she yields absolutely. When Leander demands a token of her love she demurs for a moment, but only for a moment. She is now conscious of her power and wishes to tantalize him a little:

Die Arme falte rückwärts,
Wie ein Gefangener, der Liebe, mein Gefangener (VII, 59).

She too, however, is a captive.²

¹ "Der Trieb, die Neigung, das Instinktmässige sind ebenso göttlich, als die Vernunft."—*Werke*, XVI, 12. This, too, was Goethe's view. See *Hermann und Dorothea*, Canto I, 84–87:

Dieser sprach: "Ich tadle nicht gerne, was immer dem Menschen
Für unschädliche Triebe die gute Mutter Natur gab;
Denn was Verstand und Vernunft nicht immer vermögen, vermag oft
Solch ein glücklicher Hang, der unwiderstehlich uns leitet."

² The fragment *Seelengrösse* (XI, 39 f.), which Grillparzer sketched in the year 1808, offers a parallel to *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* in the psychological develop-

Leander represents the half-conscious, naïve type to which Phaon and Melitta belong. He is a dreamer who shows no interest in the life round about him, a star-gazer who has lived a self-absorbed life, apart from all companions save his mother and his friend, Naukleros. He had been untouched by love until he met Hero. Now, however, when he has fallen in love, he does not know what is the matter with him. He complains to Naukleros that he is weary and sick. The latter, knowing his temperament, assures him that he will feel all right when he is home again in his gloomy hut on the sea-shore, with nothing but sand and waves about him and heavy, threatening clouds overhead. There he will be able to lie of an evening in his boat, floating idly on the waves and gazing up into the stars, thinking of spirits, of nothing, thinking that he is thinking (VII, 31). A temperament to which such surroundings and such occupations are congenial is surely romantic. To find satisfaction in thinking that one is thinking is parallel to Friedrich Schlegel's statement: "Ich genoss nicht blos, sondern ich fühlte und genoss den Genuss";¹ it is akin to the process described by Novalis² when he wrote: "Wir sind dem Aufwachen nahe, wenn wir träumen dass wir träumen."

Wrapped up in his dreams, Leander does not realize, according to his friend's report, that all the girls are in love with him. While in the temple he seems to have been unconscious of the attention which he attracted to himself:

Nun frag' ihn aber einer, was er sah?
 Ob's Mädchen waren oder wilde Schwäne?
 Er weiss es nicht, er ging nur eben hin.
 Und doch war er's nach dem sie alle blickten.
 Die Priestrin selbst (VII, 33).

ment of natural passion. Gianetta, a girl of seventeen years, has spent most of her life apart from the world in a convent. Just as Hero was convinced that the chief end of her life was to become a priestess in the temple of Aphrodite, so Gianetta, in her inexperience, had persuaded herself that she was to be the wife of the Marchese Vercelli, an old friend of her father to whom she had been betrothed. She is, however, without realizing it, attracted to her former playmate, Rinaldo Fiorini, and the purpose of the play was to show the growth and final victory of her natural feelings over her preconceived determination. It is quite possible that this sketch exercised some influence on the Hero drama.

¹ *Lucinde* (Reclam No. 320), 5.

² *Athenäumsfragment* 288.

When Naukleros assures him that he is in love he does not believe him. To him it seems more like sickness.¹

Was sprachst du? Ich bin krank. Es schmerzt die Brust.

Nicht etwa innerlich; von aussen, hier,

Hart an den Knochen. Ich bin krank, zum Tod (VII, 34).

According to Leander's own account (VII, 52) the swimming across the Hellespont was the result of a sudden impulse—not a premeditated act. He was restless and left his hut to gaze out over the sea. Suddenly a light gleamed through the darkness, like a last ray of hope. The passion which had been slumbering within his breast since he met Hero, bursts forth:

In mächt'gen Schlägen schwoll empor mein Herz,

Nicht halten wollt' es mehr in seinen Banden.

The light drew him on. He rushed down to the shore and, casting himself into the sea, struck out for Sestos.

In all his actions Leander is represented as following blindly and without the least hesitation his natural impulses. Naukleros, fearing for his friend's safety, tries to restrain him, but all in vain. Leander, formerly timid and fearsome, has suddenly become bold and is capable of deeds which make his companion turn pale. He believes that the gods have taken him under their special protection and that in following his instincts he is guided by their wisdom:

Amor und Hymen, ziehet ihr voran,

Ich komm', ich folg', und wäre Tod der dritte! (VII, 80).

Like Bertha and Jaromir it never occurs to him that his love for the priestess is forbidden and wrong. "Er ist ein Naturkind wie Hero und handelt nicht nach Maximen, sondern gehorcht seinen natürlichen Impulsen. Seine Leidenschaft, der er sich gleichsam mit geschlossenen Augen überlässt, unfähig und ohne den Willen sie zu bemeistern, treibt ihn ins Verderben."² In all these respects he is the child of romanticism.

Once more in Rahel, the Jewess of Toledo, according to Scherer³

¹ This is similar to Grillparzer's own experience related in his *Tagebuch* for the year 1808: "Wenn ich liebe, liebe ich so, wie vielleicht noch niemand oder doch nur sehr wenige geliebt haben; mein Gefühl lässt sich nicht beschreiben, mit nichts vergleichen. Ich fühle wirklich körperliche Schmerzen dabei."—Glossy und Sauer, II, 5.

² J. Schwering, *Franz Grillparzers hellenische Trauerspiele*, 177.

³ *Op. cit.*, 278.

"eine dramatische Dichtung vom ersten Rang," Grillparzer has depicted a non-moral character who surrenders blindly and without a thought to her natural instincts. The king sums up her character in the last act, in the words:

All was sie that, ging aus aus ihrem Selbst,
Urplötzlich, unverhofft und ohne Beispiel (IX, 206).

A true child of nature, she never stops to consider that her love for the king is something impossible and wrong, but follows impulses which drive her to her destruction. In her desire to see the young king she is deaf to the warnings of her father and is indifferent to the law which forbids Jews to be in the royal gardens when the king goes walking. Her impulsive nature is seen also in her readiness to throw away a valuable jewel, should it please her to do so (IX, 137). The ethical significance of her acts does not concern her in the least. In this regard she is just the opposite of Donna Clara whom the king characterizes in the words: "Sittsamkeit noch sittlicher als Sitte!" (IX, 143).

As a child of feeling and impulse Rahel passes quickly from one mood to another. From a light-hearted, impulsive creature she becomes the very incarnation of terror when she believes that she is in danger (IX, 145 f.). To the king's query as to whether she is always so timid her sister, Esther, replies:

O nicht doch!
Sie war vor kurzem übermütig noch
Und trotzte, wollte, Herr, dich sehen (IX, 148).

Weeping and laughing seems to be her normal condition. Like the child who forgets all its troubles as soon as its attention is attracted by some new toy, she is carried away by every new whim. Garceran, in whose charge the king had left her, describes the changeableness of her moods as follows:

Zum Anfang war ein Weinen ohne Mass,
Allein die Zeit bringt Trost, pflegt man zu sagen;
So war's auch hier. Vorbei der erste Schreck,
Fand Munterkeit, ja Scherz sich wieder ein.
Man sah nun erst das schimmernde Gerät,
Die Seide der Tapeten ward bewundert,
Des Vorhangs Stoff nach Ellen abgeschätzt,
Man hat sich eingerichtet und ist ruhig (IX, 153).

The novelty of the situation makes her forget her fears. Her former exuberance of spirits has returned. According to her father's account she laughs, dances, and sings like one half-mad. She has found some theatrical costumes in her apartments and decks herself out as queen. When the king becomes offended at the too great liberty which she takes with his picture, her sister has to explain that she has no evil design, as he supposes, but is merely acting in accordance with her nature:

Es kam ihr ein, und also that sie's eben (IX, 162).

Rahel is, indeed, a strange mixture of the conscious and the unconscious. Although conscious of her beauty and of the power which she exercises over the king, she is represented throughout as acting in an illogical and whimsical manner, foreign to the character that knows what it wants and proceeds definitely to carry out its will. She is variable as nature itself and has that in common with the persons already described that her actions proceed entirely from impulse. "Grillparzers Rahel," says Farinelli,¹ "ist ein leichtfertiges, sorgloses Geschöpf, ein Kind, das nur zu geniessen und nicht zu denken vermag, dem das Leben des Augenblicks das ganze Leben ist. Sie ist nur Instinkt, nur Natur."

King Alfonso, while he does not follow consistently his impulses, like the other persons described, betrays nevertheless at times similar characteristics. He is so much the slave of his natural passions that in his infatuation for the Jewess he forgets his wife and child and the welfare of his kingdom. His return to duty, moreover, is not an act of calm deliberation, but a yielding to still another sudden and uncontrollable impulse. As he gazes on Rahel's face, now disfigured in death, he sees something repellent in the features which had hitherto escaped his notice and his rage against her murderers is suddenly changed into recognition of his own guilt and unworthiness.

Again in Herzog Otto von Meran and Don Cäsar, Grillparzer has portrayed two characters who are ruled entirely by their passions. They do not recognize any other law than that of their own unfettered will and cannot bear to be thwarted in any of their plans. As true romanticists their actions are the outcome of the same philosophy

¹ Grillparzer und Lope de Vega, 155.

of life which William Lovell enunciated in the words: "Ich selbst bin das einzige Gesetz in der ganzen Natur, diesem Gesetz gehorcht alles."¹

Probably the most extreme case in all of Grillparzer's dramas of a character who follows his instincts purely and simply is that of Galomir in the comedy, *Weh dem, der lügt*. Galomir, indeed, is represented as being little higher than a beast in the intellectual scale. The result was that the actor who played this part on the occasion of the first presentation of the piece represented him as an idiot—a proceeding which contributed not a little to the ill-success of the play and drew forth the censure of the author. Grillparzer did not intend Galomir to be represented as stupid, but merely as following his animal instincts. "Galomir," he writes,² "ist so wenig dumm als die Tiere dumm sind; sie denken nur nicht. Galomir kann darum nicht sprechen, weil er auch nicht denkt; das würde ihn aber nicht hindern, z. B. in der Schlacht den rechten Angriffspunkt instinktmässig recht gut herauszufinden. Er ist tierisch, aber nicht blödsinnig" (XVIII, 197).

In depicting characters who do not act with definite purpose and premeditated design, but who are ruled by instincts and impulses over which they have no control and of which they are only half conscious, Grillparzer has much in common with the romantic dramatist, Heinrich von Kleist.³

In Kleist's *Käthchen von Heilbronn*⁴ we have a character who is ultra romantic in her nature. She is so much the slave of her impulses that her father believes that the Graf von Strahl must have exercised some magic power over her and accuses him to that effect before the Vehme. As soon as she sets eyes on the count in her father's workshop she is smitten with an inexplicable love and, letting fall the

¹ *Tiecks Schriften* (Berlin, 1826-46), VI, 179.

² Cf. also Wilhelm von Wartenegg, *Erinnerungen an Franz Grillparzer: Fragmente aus Tagebuchblättern* (Wien, 1901), 51.

³ Grillparzer was familiar with the works of Kleist and characterized their author as "ein nicht genug zu preisendes Talent."—A. Foglar, *Grillparzers Ansichten über Lit., Bühne und Leben* (Stuttgart, 1891), 12. Cf. also *Werke*, XVIII, 87; Wilhelm von Wartenegg, *op. cit.*, 35.

⁴ *Das Käthchen von Heilbronn* was first played in the Theater an der Wien, March 17, 18, and 19, 1810.

tray which she is carrying, she folds her hands as in prayer and falls down prostrate before him. Soon afterward, when the count mounts his horse and is about to take his leave, she springs from a window thirty feet above the ground, like one bereft of her senses. For weeks she lies at death's door, but as soon as she recovers from the long and weary illness occasioned by her mad act, she forsakes father, home, and her betrothed to follow the count.

The similarity between Kleist's Käthchen and some of Grillparzer's personages is quite striking. Her act in letting fall the tray when she first meets the Graf von Strahl reminds one of Melitta's conduct at the banquet where she spills on the floor the wine which she is about to present to Phaon. With both it is a case of attraction at first sight. Again the impulse which causes Käthchen to cast herself from the window in order to follow the count is not unlike that which induces Leander to cast himself into the sea in order to join Hero. Both are irresistibly impelled by some power of which they are but half-conscious and which they follow blindly. In this regard, too, parallels might be drawn between Käthchen and Grillparzer's Medea and Bertha. Just as Medea and Bertha feel themselves inevitably attracted to Jason and Jaromir and are prepared to cut the ties which bind them to home and country in order to remain true to the feeling of love which holds them captive, so Käthchen, in her infatuation for the count, forsakes all and follows him.

Equally irresistible and inexplicable is the manner of Penthesilea's attraction to Achilles. The Greeks stand before the queen of the Amazons:

Gedankenvoll auf einen Augenblick,
Sieht sie in unsre Schaar, von Ausdruck leer,
Als ob in Stein gehau'n wir vor ihr stünden;
Hier diese flache Hand, versichr' ich dich,
Ist ausdrucksvoller als ihr Angesicht:
Bis jetzt ihr Aug' auf den Peliden trifft:
Und Glut ihr plötzlich, bis zum Hals hinab,
Das Antlitz färbt, als schlänge rings um ihr
Die Welt in helle Flammenlohe auf.¹

This feeling for Achilles, however, appears to her to be an enemy

¹ H. von Kleist, *Sämtliche Werke*, herausgegeben von Th. Zolling, D.N.L., 2. Teil, 287.

within her own breast. She considers it a weakness and a disgrace for the queen of the Amazons to be the captive of love, and the fact that she feels herself powerless against this attraction makes her rage all the more against the Greeks and especially against him whom she knows to be the cause of her weakness:

Oft, aus der sonderbaren Wut zu schliessen,
Mit welcher sie, im Kampfgewühl, den Sohn
Der Thetis sucht, scheint's uns, als ob ein Hass
Persönlich wider ihn die Brust ihr füllte (p. 290).

And yet, when the fortune of war has placed his life within her power, she yields to a sudden impulse and spares him:

Doch jüngst, in einem Augenblick, da schon
Sein Leben war in ihre Macht gegeben,
Gab sie es lächelnd, ein Geschenk, ihm wieder:
Er stieg zum Orkus, wenn sie ihn nicht hielt (p. 291).

Indeed throughout the whole play Penthesilea is described as yielding blindly to her passions. Pride and love are struggling within her for the mastery. Impelled by a feeling of injured pride, she is determined to humble the haughty Greek who has brought discord into her soul:

Ich will zu meiner Füsse Staub ihn sehen,
Den Uebermütigen, der mir an diesem
Glorwürd'gen Schlachtentag, wie keiner noch,
Das kriegerische Hochgefühl verwirrt (p. 313).

She rebukes Meroe for being a captive of love, and yet she must confess that, even when she is fighting against Achilles, she is yielding to similar feelings:

Was will ich denn, wenn ich das Schwert ihm zücke?
Will ich ihn denn zum Orkus niederschleudern?
Ich will ihn ja, ihr ew'gen Götter! nur
An diese Brust will ich ihn niederziehn! (p. 337).

In the conflict with the Pelide Penthesilea is vanquished and is dragged off unconscious by her maidens. But in the moment of victory Achilles is filled with a violent passion for her and declares himself her prisoner. He is, however, only the prisoner of love and insists that she shall accompany him to Phthia and become his queen. When she is rescued by the Amazons he challenges her to a new com-

bat, intending to yield voluntarily and submit to her will. Her love, however, is now turned into a wild, uncontrollable fury which devours everything that comes in its way. The Amazons strive in vain to restrain her. Unconscious of what she is doing, she draws her bow against Achilles who stands defenseless before her and, rushing upon him with her dogs, stills her rage in his blood.

Schwering¹ has pointed out the main points of similarity between Kleist's Penthesilea and Grillparzer's Medea. Both fall in love instinctively and in spite of themselves. In both there takes place a vain struggle against the passion which has gained possession of them. Penthesilea rages against the Greeks and especially against Achilles; Medea, like so many of Grillparzer's characters, would fain retire and avoid what she feels she cannot resist. Both, again, act from impulses which run counter to their preconceived resolves. Medea has sworn to be revenged on Jason for the insult which he inflicted upon her in the tower, but instinctively warns him when he is about to drink of the poisoned cup; Penthesilea spares Achilles when it lies in her power to subdue him. Both, finally, follow blindly the dictates of wild passion and kill that which they love best.

Once more, in Prince Friedrich von Homburg, Kleist has drawn a character who is ruled by his impulses. He has already been the cause of two defeats, just on this account, and the Kurfürst warns him on the eve of the third battle to be calm. The prince, however, is depicted as acting under a kind of somnambulistic influence. Although commanded to maintain his position till he receives orders to attack, he yields to a sudden impulse and has the charge sounded. In vain do his fellow-officers remind him that he ought to wait for orders:

Auf Ord'r? Ei, Kottwitz! Reitest du so langsam?
Hast du sie noch vom Herzen nicht empfangen?²

He is sentenced to death for disobedience, but believes that the Kurfürst is only playing the part of a Brutus. When he is asked on what grounds he bases his hopes of security, he replies: "Auf mein Gefühl

¹ *Fr. Grillparzers hellenische Trauerspiele* (Paderborn, 1891), 96 f.

² H. von Kleist, *Sämtliche Werke*, D.N.L., 3. Teil, 313.

von ihm!" (p. 336).¹ When, however, he is at last convinced that he is in real danger, he gives way entirely to feelings which seem unworthy in one who has acted so bravely on the field of battle, and is willing to sacrifice fame and everything else to save his life. In the end, to be sure, he gains the mastery over this feeling, but throughout the play he is "zerstreut, geteilt," a dreamer who follows blindly the intuitions of his heart.

The absolute surrender to one's natural impulses was the doctrine of Rousseau, of the Storm and Stress, and of romanticism. To the romanticists Personality was the all-important thing, the Ego was the supreme law of life. The ultimate nature of things, they believed, was revealed, not through Reason as the rationalists claimed, but through Feeling.² It will be found, therefore, that romantic characters usually follow blindly their instincts, irrespective of all other considerations, moral or conventional. Conscience, to them, works through feeling and, therefore, in surrendering to their feelings they believe that they are obeying the highest law of their nature. Like the prince of Homburg they take orders "from the heart" and base their hopes on their "Gefühl":

Denn etwas giebt's, das über alles Wähnen
Und Wissen hoch erhaben—das Gefühl.³

The praise of instinctive action is found everywhere in the works of the romanticists. "Das ist es eben," we read in Tieck's *Dichterleben*,⁴ "das ist das Herrlichste dabei, dass du nur so hinhandeltest,

¹ Hero's words to the priest in *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* offer themselves for comparison with this answer of the prince:

PRIESTER. Bist du so sicher des?

HERO. Ich bin es, Herr!
Auf Zeugnis einer seligen Empfindung,
Die mich durchströmt. . . .

and again:

PRIESTER. Doch wie erweistest du's?

HERO. Ich glaub' es so.

PRIESTER. Auf ein Gefühl auch?

HERO. Auch auf ein Gefühl (VII, 84).

² "Gefühl scheint das Erste, Reflexion das Zweite zu seyn," writes Novalis (*Schriften*, herausgegeben von Heilborn, II, ii, 589), and in the *Lehrlinge zu Sais* we read: "Das Denken ist nur ein Traum des Fühlens, ein erstorbenes Fühlen, ein blassgraues, schwaches Leben" (*ibid.*, I, 230).

³ "Die Familie Schroffenstein," *Kleists sämtliche Werke*, D.N.L., I. Teil, 143.

⁴ *Tiecks Schriften* (Berlin: Reimer, 1828-46), XVIII, 271.

nach einfachem Gefühl, dass du nicht denkst und grübelst und Vorsätze fassdest, sondern nur so ganz einfach deinem Wesen folgst." Such a character is Tieck's William Lovell whom Haym¹ characterizes as a weakling, "der die Beute jedes flüchtigsten Gefühls ist." He wanders about without any fixed purpose in life, the slave of uncontrollable passions. Instinct, he believes, is a gift from the gods to man for his guidance: "Welcher Mensch ist denn der edlere—derjenige, der stets nach dem Gefühle handelt, das ihn gerade in diesem Momente beseelt und ergreift, das ihn wie ein Gott im Busen vorwärts treibt, und er nun geht, ohne mit feiger Aengstlichkeit hinter sich zu blicken? Oder der, der nur als ein Sklave nach einem Gesetze sucht, nach dem er handeln müsse, weil es ihm lästig fällt, frei zu sein, und er also auch die Freiheit nicht verdient? Der Mensch ist denn geädelt, wenn er aus stillen, unbewussten Gefühlen auf die Art gut ist wie das Thier durch Instinkt, Nahrung und Gesundheit erwirbt, wie die Pflanze von innen heraus wächst, ohne ihren Willen."²

Another such romantic character is Franz Sternbald, who, by his own confession, was accustomed "aus vollem Herzen zuzuzahlen, seine Liebe nicht zu messen und einzuschränken, sondern es zu dulden, dass sie sich in vollen Strömen durch das Land der Kunst, sein Land der Verheissung ergoss."³ His friend Sebastian writes to him from Nürnberg, warning him not to give way so much to his feelings: "Dass du dich von deinen Empfindungen so regieren und zernichten lässtest, thut mir sehr weh, deine Ueberspannung rauben dir Kräfte und Entschluss."⁴ Franz, indeed, reminds one very much of those characters of Grillparzer's dramas just described in the way in which he is ruled by his impulses. He is but vaguely conscious of the motives which induce him to act. When Zeuner asks him how he came to devote his life to painting, he replies: "Das kann ich Euch selber nicht sagen, ich war plötzlich dabei, ohne zu wissen wie es kam; einen Trieb etwas zu bilden, fühlte ich immer in mir"⁵—a reply which may be fitly compared with Hero's reason, contained in the words:

¹ *Die romantische Schule*, 2. Aufl. (Berlin, 1906), 43.

² *Tiecks Schriften*, VI, 332.

³ *Ibid.*, XVI, 131.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.

Vielmehr ein glücklich Ungefähr hat mich
Nur halb bewusst, an diesen Ort gebracht (VII, 12).

His actions throughout are quite in accord with this confession. "Er kam auf einen freien Platz im Walde, und plötzlich stand er still. Er wusste selbst nicht, warum er inne hielt, er verweilte, um darüber nachzudenken."¹ In one place we are told that he struggles against this tendency: "Er zwang sich, nicht heftig zu sein, nicht seine Gefühle sprechen zu lassen, wenn sein Verstand und Urtheil in Anspruch genommen wurden."² In his meeting with Marie in Rome, however, he appears as he truly is, dominated by impulses: "Ohne dass sie es gewollt hatten, fast ohne dass sie es wussten, hatten beide sich ihre Liebe gestanden."³

Most of the personages in the *Wanderungen* belong psychologically to the same family as Sternbald himself. The countess, whose portrait he painted on his way to Italy, might very well be compared in some respects with Grillparzer's Medea or Hero. All three declare their indifference to love and are confident of their power to resist it. Medea says:

Mein Garten ist die ungemessene Erde,
Des Himmels blaue Säulen sind mein Haus;
Da will ich stehn, des Berges freien Lüften
Entgegentragend eine freie Brust (V, 12).

For Hero, also, love had no attraction:

Hier, Hymenäus, der die Menschen bindet,
Nimm diesen Kranz von einer, die gern frei.
Die Seelen tauschest du? Ei, gute Götter!
Ich will die meine nur für mich behalten (VII, 8).

Similarly the countess prided herself on the fact that love had been unable to make any impression on her: "Diese Ruhe meines Herzens war mein grösster Stolz, ich meinte, was ich von Liebe gehört, sei nur eine Erfindung begeisterter Dichter."⁴ When she met the Frankish knight, however, she became love's captive just as it happened in the case of Hero and Medea. At the very moment when she believed herself to be strongest, and almost before she was conscious of it, she was forced to yield to feelings which had hitherto been unknown

¹ *Ibid.*, 38.

³ *Ibid.*, 412.

² *Ibid.*, 406.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 261.

to her. "Meine ganze Seele gehörte ihm schon," she confesses, "noch ehe ich darauf fiel diese Empfindung, die alle meine Kräfte abwechselnd erhöhte und vernichtete, Liebe zu nennen."¹

Heinrich von Ofterdingen develops very much like the other romantic characters already discussed. He is perfectly passive in nature and does not strive after any ideal. "Von keiner absichtsvollen Erziehung in der freien Entfaltung seines Wesens gestört, ist er in bescheidener Enge in dem elterlichen Hause zu Eisenach aufgewachsen, ganz ähnlich, wie ja auch Hardenbergs Jugend verlief."² Most sensitive to every new impression, he is one of those poetic natures described by Klingsohr, "deren Welt ihr Gemüth, deren Thätigkeit die Betrachtung, deren Leben ein leises Bilden ihrer inneren Kräfte ist."³ In Klingsohr he instinctively recognizes a kindred spirit and is drawn to him the moment he sets eyes on him. The manner in which he is attracted to Mathilde is equally sudden and irresistible and supplies us with another example of that psychology which recognizes in instinct the highest law of action and of life.⁴

To act in accordance with some fixed plan and with some definite purpose in view is quite opposed to romantic psychology. The romantic characters as depicted in the novels of the Romantic school are almost invariably wanderers who do not know what they want (cf. William Lovell, Franz Sternbald, Heinrich von Ofterdingen, the Taugenichts, etc.). Franz Sternbald is for a moment enchanted with the prospect of a quiet, peaceful life in the country. He soon sees, however, that such a life would not be congenial to a person with his temperament, and adds: "Ich muss erst älter werden, denn jetzt weiss ich selber noch nicht was ich will."⁵ His brother Ludovico goes to even greater extremes when he says: "Man kann seinen Zweck nicht vergessen, weil der vernünftige Mensch sich schon so einrichtet,

¹ *Tiecks Schriften*, XVI, 262.

² R. Haym, *Die romantische Schule*, 388.

³ *Novalis Schriften* (Heilborn), I, 94.

⁴ Novalis' own love for Sophie von Kühn, as we learn from the answer to a letter which he wrote to his brother Erasmus (the original letter has unfortunately been lost) was of the same character. (Fr. v. Hardenberg, *Nachlese*, herausgegeben von einem Mitglied der Familie [Gotha, 1883], 70 f.)

⁵ *Tiecks Schriften*, XVI, 59.

dass er gar keinen Zweck hat. Ich muss nur lachen, wenn ich Leute so grosse Anstalten machen sehe, um ein Leben zu führen, das Leben ist dahin, noch ehe sie mit den Vorbereitungen fertig sind."¹ Friedrich Schlegel expresses the same point of view in his novel, *Lucinde*, where he makes Julius say: "Absichten haben, nach Absichten handeln und Absichten mit Absichten zu neuer Absicht künstlich verweben, diese Unart ist so tief in die närrische Natur des gottähnlichen Menschen eingewurzelt, dass er sich's nun ordentlich vorsetzen und zur Absicht machen muss, wenn er sich einmal ohne alle Absicht auf dem innern Strom ewig fliessender Bilder und Gefühle frei bewegen will."² In his description of the meeting between Achilles and Nausikaa it is the natural *naïveté* of the king's daughter which Schlegel admires: "In allem was Nausikaa sagt, und in ihrem ganzem Benehmen ist die schönste Mischung von Offenheit und Furchtsamkeit, von heimlichem Verlangen und Delikatesse. Ohne an sich zu denken, und um sich zu wissen, ohne die geringste Absicht, handelt sie nach dem reinen Eindrücke auf ein unschuldiges Herz."³

That is not to say that the romanticists did not believe at all in purpose. Purpose, however, they believed, was realized through instinct. The two go hand in hand, for, as Friedrich Schlegel states, "bei fortschreitenden Naturen erweitern, schärfen und bilden sich Begriff und Sinn (instinct) gegenseitig."⁴ In every good poem, to quote the same authority, "muss alles Absicht und alles Instinkt sein."⁵ The perfect, practical genius, according to Schleiermacher, is the man in whom "alles Absicht und alles Instinkt, alles Willkür und alles Natur sein würde," the man who does not strive after an ideal but who waits till the opportune moment appears.⁶ "Das ist es eben was man niemals vergessen darf," writes Ricarda Huch, "dass das Bewusstsein des Romantikers mit dem Gehalte des Unbewussten erfüllt ist."⁷

¹ *Ibid.*, 338.

² Fr. Schlegel, *Lucinde* (Reclam), 93.

³ J. Minor, *Fr. Schlegels Jugendschriften*, I, 33.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 173.

⁵ *Lyceumsfragment* 23; cf. also *Athenäumsfragment* 51.

⁶ *Athenäumsfragment* 428.

⁷ R. Huch, *Blütezeit d. Romantik*, 100.

From what has been said it is clear that the romanticists regarded instinct as the highest attribute of man. "Mit Instinkt hat der Mensch angefangen," says Novalis, "mit Instinkt soll der Mensch enden. Instinkt ist das Genie im Paradiese vor der Periode der Selbstabsonderung."¹ In discussing Grillparzer's persons it was seen that there, too, instinct plays a much greater rôle than reason. The conflict between reason and passion which takes place in the souls of the various personages ends invariably in a victory for the natural feelings of the heart. Hero desires to follow "das Licht, das uns die Götter gaben" (VII, 56), but her love proves stronger than her attachment to the priestly office. Medea, Bertha, and even Melitta struggle to some extent against their fate, but in vain. In the case of Rahel there is no sign of a struggle; she gives herself up wholly to her natural instincts.

The fate, therefore, to which these characters are subjected is a purely romantic fate. Believing that personality is its own law, fate could not be considered by the romanticist as an external force ruling over the destinies of man, but as an inner psychological power against which it is useless to struggle.² An external fate may be bent to some extent; fate in the romantic sense is something which lies beyond the power of man to mold to his purposes, for it is nothing more or less than the expression of his own personality, the following of inner dictates which are nearer to him than his own breathing. Such was the fate against which Kleist's Penthesilea attempted to struggle. The priestess cannot understand why Penthesilea is unable to flee from Achilles when no fate holds her, "nichts als ihr töricht Herz." Prothoe, however, replies:

Das ist ihr Schicksal!
 Dir scheinen Eisenbanden unzerreissbar,
 Nicht wahr? Nun sieh: sie bräche sie vielleicht,
 Und das Gefühl doch nicht, das du verspottest.³

The same is true of many of Grillparzer's persons. Despite the fact that Grillparzer, in speaking of his *Ahnfrau*, declared in conversation

¹ *Novalis Schriften* (Heilborn), II, ii, 531.

² "Das Fatum, das uns drückt ist die Trägheit unseres Geistes: durch Erweiterung und Bildung unserer Thätigkeit werden wir uns selbst in das Fatum verwandeln." — *Novalis Schriften* (Heilborn), II, i, 176.

³ H. von Kleist, *Sämliche Werke* (D.N.L.) 2. Teil, 343.

with Emil Kuh that the idea of fate which dwells only in the human breast is not only unpoetic but also untrue, that man struggles not only with his own soul but also with an external power which forces itself in upon him,¹ the fate which links his persons together is largely the same as that which holds Penthesilea and Achilles. It is a power against which it is vain for them to struggle. While it is true that external fate plays a large part in bringing about the catastrophe in the *Ahnfrau* and the drama, as a whole, has stamped upon it the features of the fate-tragedy, there is nothing external about the power which links together Bertha and Jaromir. As has been shown they follow blindly the impulses of the heart. The same is true of Phaon and Melitta and of Hero and Leander. Of the latter Scherer says: "Hier wird nichts den Umständen, nichts dem Zufall zugewälzt. Die Gewalt der Leidenschaft allein führt ins Verderben."² External fate also plays a considerable rôle in *Das goldene Vliess*, but the relation between Jason and Medea is purely personal. Here, as in the other dramas, it is the "Zug des Herzens," so prominent in the characters of romanticism, which is the mainspring of the action and which prevails over all other considerations.

II. THE QUIETISTIC TYPE

Not only does Grillparzer depict in his dramas characters who follow blindly their impulses, but he also introduces frequently the contemplative, quietistic character which turns away from life and seeks happiness in retirement—a type which is often combined with the instinctive character and which is equally romantic. To this class belong Rustan, Raimund, Robert of Normandy, Margarete, the Priester in *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*, Libussa and her sisters, Rudolf the Second, and Matthias. Here, too, belong partly Sappho, Bancbanus, Phaon, Melitta, and others.

Rustan, the hero of *Der Traum, ein Leben*,³ is, like Jaromir, a representative of the *männlich-weiblich* type which was such a favorite with the romanticists. He is filled with that unrest which makes the romantic character an aimless wanderer in quest of happiness in its

¹ E. Kuh, *Zwei Dichter Oesterreichs* (Pest, 1872), 24.

² W. Scherer, *op. cit.*, 257.

³ S. Hock, *Der Traum, ein Leben* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1904).

various forms. Like Ulysses of old, he "cannot rest from travel" and is determined to "drink life to the lees." The restless strivings which have taken possession of his soul are described by his uncle, Massud:

Ja, fürwahr, ein wilder Geist
Wohnt in seinem düstern Busen,
Herrscht in seinem ganzen Thun
Und lässt nimmerdar ihn ruhn (VII, 114).

Sleeping and waking he dreams of wars and battles, of crowns and victory. Like the numerous romantic characters who are unwilling to settle down to an ordinary mode of life, preferring to spend their days in the pursuit of an ideal which they never realize, Rustan is dissatisfied with the uneventful existence in Massud's house and wanders through mountains and woods, a prey to his discontent:

Wie so schal dünkt mich dies Leben,
Wie so schal und jämmerlich!
Stets das Heute nur des Gestern
Und des Morgen flaches Bild;
Freude, die mich nicht erfreuet,
Leiden, das mich nicht betrübt,
Und der Tag, der, stets erneuet,
Nichts doch als sich selber gibt (VII, 120).

He is filled with a longing for a life of activity which allows him no rest. To achieve greatness is his most ardent wish:

Sich hinabzustürzen dann
In das rege, wirre Leben,
An die volle Brust es drücken,
An sich und doch unter sich:
Wie ein Gott, an leisen Fäden
Trotzende Gewalten lenken, u.s.w. (VII, 121).

An impulse within him urges him to seek his fortune in the world and his uncle reluctantly grants him the permission which he demands. f

Rustan, however, is no man of action, but, as Goedeke says, "einen von stürmischem Thatendurst erfüllten Schwärmer, der nur von Glanz, Ruhm und Macht träumt."¹ Like the archduke Matthias in the *Bruderzwist* he is unfitted for active life but does not recognize

¹ *Grundriss u.s.w.*, III, 388.

his weakness till he has lived through the dream of a night. His normal state is quietism; Mirza pictures him as he really is:

O, ich weiss wohl eine Zeit,
 Wo er sanft war, fromm und mild.
 Wo er stundenlange sass
 Auf dem Grund zu meinen Füßen,
 Bald des Hauses Arbeit teilend,
 Bald ein Märchen mir erzählend,
 Bald—o, glaubt mir, lieber Vater!
 Er war damals sanft und gut (VII, 114).

Even in his dream, when whirled along by ambition and intoxicated by success, he betrays, at times, longings for the quiet happiness which he had scorned in his mad quest for fame and glory:

O, hätt' ich—o hätt' ich nimmer
 Dich verlassen, heimisch Dach,
 Und den Taumelpfad betreten,
 Dem sich Sorgen winden nach.
 Hätt' ich nie des Aeussern Schimmer
 Mit des Innern Wert bezahlt
 Und das Gaukelbild der Hoffnung
 Fern auf Nebelgrund gemalt! (VII, 167).

The folly of his course is revealed to him in his dream, where he sees himself committing crime upon crime in the pursuit of his ambitious designs. To the deception which he practices on the king of Samarcand, in order to win his favor and to obtain the hand of his daughter, Gülnare, he adds the crime of the murder of his rival. Accused before the king by old Kaleb, the dumb father of the victim, he poisons his benefactor and attributes the deed to his accuser. The latter is thrown into prison and Rustan reigns in Samarcand with the princess. His fortunes, however, are on the wane. His tyrannical rule causes an insurrection and the friends of the dumb Kaleb demand justice from the princess. Rustan is recognized as the real murderer of the king and of Kaleb's son and is forced to flee for his life, accompanied by his accomplice, Zanga. Surrounded on all sides by his pursuers, he casts himself in despair from the very bridge on which he had murdered his rival.

During his dream Rustan has been reminded constantly of the happiness which might have been his, but which he has trampled

under foot. Mirza appears to him in a vision, sitting in front of her father's cottage and he hears the warning voice as the king reads:

Rustan, Rustan, wilder Jäger,
 Warum quälst du deine Liebe,
 Suchst auf unbetreten Pfaden
 Ein noch zweifelhaft Geschick?

 Kehr zurück auf deinen Wegen,
 Wenn nicht hier, wo ist das Glück? (VII, 178, 179).

A vision of the "Mann vom Felsen" whom he has murdered also appears to warn him against the dangerous course he is pursuing:

Rustan, Rustan, wilder Jäger,
 Kehr zurück auf deinen Pfaden!
 Was ist Ruhm, der Grösse Glück?
 Sieh auf mich! Weil ich getracket
 Nach zu Hohem, nach Verbotnem,
 Irr' ich hier in dieser Wüste,
 Freigestellt das nackte Leben
 Jedes Meuchelmörders Dolch (VII, 179, 180).

To this might be added the words of the old dervish which he heard just before dropping off to sleep:

Schatten sind des Lebens Güter,
 Schatten seiner Freuden Schar,
 Schatten Worte, Wünsche, Thaten,
 Die Gedanken nur sind wahr (VII, 132).

Rustan awakes in his uncle's house and discovers that the horrible adventures of days and weeks were but the dreams of a night, and that the bloody murderer of Kaleb's son and of the king has still unstained hands. The frightful nightmare through which he has passed is, however, a warning to him. His dreams of fame and glory have been dissipated and he is now content to lead a quiet idyllic life with Mirza and his uncle. Greatness has no longer any attraction for him; true happiness, he is convinced, is to be found only in the quiet harmony of the soul. His philosophy of life, and Grillparzer's own philosophy, is contained in the words:

Eines nur ist Glück hienieden,
 Eins: des Innern stiller Frieden
 Und die schuldbefreite Brust!
 Und die Grösse ist gefährlich,
 Und der Ruhm ein leeres Spiel;
 Was er gibt, sind nicht'ge Schatten,
 Was er nimmt, es ist so viel! (VII, 215). *see D.*

This, too, is the ideal of Massud and Mirza; all three are types of quietism and just the opposite of Zanga for whom life is action (VII, 123).

The fleeing away from actual life in pursuit of contentment is characteristic of romanticism. Romantic characters are ever filled with a longing for satisfaction which they fail to find in ordinary, everyday life and which they therefore seek in remote lands and times, or in the ideals of their own souls. Thus we find the romanticists interested in the Middle Ages, in aimless travel in distant countries, and in poetry, music, and painting. The heroes of their books are almost invariably on journeys, and are always singing the praises of the wanderer's life: "O glücklich," says Tieck's Sternbald, "ist der, der bald die enge Heimath verlässt, um wie der Vogel seinen Fittig zu prüfen und sich auf unbekannten, schöneren Zweigen zu schaukeln."¹ Sternbald resembles Grillparzer's Rustan in that the ordinary occupations of life offer no attraction for him. Like Rustan he is bent upon realizing the ideal of his dreams. When Zeuner offers him the position of overseer in his factory, he refuses flatly,² and when his mother tries to persuade him to settle down and till the soil, he declares that such a life would be impossible for him: "Wenn ich durch ungekannte Gegenden mit frischem Herzen streifen kann, so mag ich keines ruhigen Lebens geniessen. Tausend Stimmen rufen mir herbstärkend aus der Ferne zu, die ziehenden Vögel, die über meinem Haupte wegfliegen, scheinen mir Boten aus der Ferne, alle Wolken erinnern mich an meine Reise, jeder Gedanke, jeder Pulsschlag treibt mich vorwärts, wie könnt' ich da wohl in meinen jungen Jahren ruhig hier sitzen und das Wachstum des Getreides abwarten, die Einzäunung des Gartens besorgen und Rüben pflanzen!"³

¹ Tiecks *Schriften*, XVI, 21.

² *Ibid.*, XVI, 30, 31.

³ *Ibid.*, 48, 49.

The romantic character, however, is no more a man of action than is Grillparzer's Rustan. As Friedrich Schlegel says of Goethe's Wilhelm Meister "sein ganzes Thun und Wesen besteht fast im Streben, Wollen und Empfinden."¹ The passion for wandering, with which he is filled, is merely the desire for happiness which drives him out into the wide world to seek his fortune. Like Rustan, however, he generally finds in the end that happiness waits for him at home. Such, for example, is the case with Eichendorff's Taugenichts. "Nachdem er das ganze Leben lang überall seine blaue Blume gesucht hat, findet er sie in seiner Heimat."² That, too, is the general significance of the fable in Novalis' *Lehrlinge zu Sais*,³ a fable which is in many respects parallel to Grillparzer's *Der Traum, ein Leben*. Hyacinth, like Rustan, is a self-absorbed type. Caves and woods were his favorite dwelling-places. He is in love with the beautiful Rosenblütchen just as Grillparzer's hero is in love with Mirza. In both cases, however, the smooth course of love is disturbed. Zanga incites Rustan to activity; Hyacinth is entirely taken up with the wonderful tales of an old man who comes from afar and seats himself in front of his parents' house. "Da that er seinen weissen Bart voneinander und erzählte bis tief in die Nacht." And now it is all over with Hyacinth's happiness and love. He feels within him an impulse which draws him away from his home, out into the world. "Wenn ich an die alten Zeiten zurück denken will, so kommen gleich mächtigere Gedanken dazwischen; die Ruhe ist fort, Herz und Liebe mit, ich muss sie suchen gehn. Ich wollt euch gern sagen wohin, ich weiss selbst nicht: dahin wo die Mutter der Dinge wohnt, die verschleierte Jungfrau; nach der ist mein Gemüt entzündet." Finally he approaches the dwelling of the veiled maiden, but, as was the case with Rustan, he first obtains the object of his desires through a dream. Just as Rustan in his dream seems to recognize familiar figures of his past life (cf. VII, 178), so the various scenes through which he passes seem familiar to Hyacinth, but enhanced in beauty. At last he stands before the heavenly maiden; he raises the glittering veil which

¹ J. Minor, *Fr. Schlegels Jugendschriften*, II, 168.

² G. Brandes, *Die romantische Schule in Deutschland*, 244.

³ *Novalis Schriften* (Heilborn), I, 224-29.

envelops her and Rosenblütchen sinks into his arms. After seeking everywhere the "blaue Blume," he, too, like Rustan and the Taugenichts, finds happiness in the quiet joys of an idyllic existence. All three are romantic types of quietism.¹

Jüngling, in *Irenens Wiederkehr*,² one of Grillparzer's earlier fragments, gives expression to the same desire for activity as Rustan:

Hinaus, hinaus
 Aus engendem Haus,
 In Wald und Flur,
 Im Schoss der Natur,
 Der ungemessnen, ewig heitern,
 Die stürmisch pochende Brust zu erweitern!
 Mich treibt's mit Gewalt
 Hinaus in den Wald,
 Der Freiheit luftigen Aufenthalt!
 Mich duldet's nicht hinter öden Wänden,
 Beim stillen Thun von häuslichen Händen (XI, 25).

In contrast to this insatiable ambition is the song of the Wanderer, which represents Grillparzer's ideal:

In bescheidenen Bezirken
 Wirkt des Mannes thät'ge Kraft;
 Fruchtereicher ist sein Wirken,
 Er zerstöret nicht, er schafft,
 Und die Riesengrösse der Gedanken
 Fesseln nun des Hauses enge Schranken.

Er lebt in der Seinen Kreise,
 Durch sich selber froh und reich,
 Und in blumenvollem Gleise
 Rollet das Leben sanft und gleich!
 Innig fesselt ihn mit süsser Kette,
 Gatten-, Vaterlieb' an eine Stätte.

¹ Wir träumen von Reisen durch das Weltall; ist denn das Weltall nicht in uns? Nach innen geht der geheimnisvolle Weg. . . . Die Aussenwelt ist die Schattenwelt, sie wirft ihren Schatten in das Lichtreich. (Blütenstaub, *Novalis Schriften* (Heilborn), II, 1, 4; cf. also II, 1, 131, 335).

² A. Sauer, *Grillparzers sämtliche Werke*, XI, 21 f.

Er geizt nicht nach eitlen Ruhme,
 Freut sich nicht der blut'gen Schlacht,
 Froh in kleinem Eigentume,
 Wenn sein trautes Weib ihm lacht;
 Wenn im engen Raum der armen Hütte,
 Froh er ruht in froher Kinder Mitte (XI, 28, 29).¹

Raimund, in the opera, *Melusina*,² is also a parallel character to Rustan. Like Rustan he is a dreamer who is not satisfied with ordinary life and is willing to sacrifice actual human happiness in the pursuit of a delusion. His peace of soul has been disturbed by a dream in which he saw a fountain where water-nymphs were wont to disport themselves. One day, while hunting, he finds himself near this very fountain and invokes the fairy of his dreams to show herself:

Mög' dir gefallen, ganz dich mir zu zeigen,
 Und willst du's nicht, o so entlass mich ganz!
 Ein fremdes Streben hast du mir entglommen,
 Von dunkler Ahnung hebt sich meine Brust,
 Was sonst mein Glück war, ist von mir genommen,
 Und dürstend lechz' ich nach geträumter Lust (VII, 226).

While he slumbers, Melusina appears to him again, tells him of her love, and leaves a ring. On finding the ring he is convinced that his dream was a reality and despite all the warnings of his friends and of Bertha, his betrothed, he descends into Melusina's kingdom, which opens up before him like the Venusberg to Tannhäuser.

And yet Raimund is not willing to loiter about on couches of idleness. He feels within him the desire for a life of activity (VII, 242). The thought of home and those whom he has left behind is still with him. In a vision he sees a knight approaching and pointing toward a coat of arms:

Was willst du, Mann, mit deinem argen Troste?
 Willst du mir sagen, dass mein Eisen roste? (VII, 247).

¹ That, too, was Grillparzer's conception of Faust. Speaking of his proposed continuation of Goethe's *Faust*, he stated in 1822: "Ich erinnere mich von meinem damaligen Ideengang nur noch so viel, dass ich nach Gretchens entsetzlicher Katastrophe Fausten in sich zurückkehren und nun finden lassen wollte, worin er es versehen, worin eigentlich das Glück besteht: in Selbstbegrenzung und Seelenfrieden" (XI, 257).

² A. Sauer, *Grillparzers sämtliche Werke*, VII, 223 f.

The vision of a woman blowing a trumpet reminds him that he is losing his fair name and fame; while the sight of a pilgrim warns him that he is jeopardizing his soul. All these thoughts urge him to return to the world, and, when he learns to know Melusina's true nature, he carries out this resolve.

But although Raimund has forsaken Melusina, his heart is still with her. The flowers of earth are to him without color, the herbs are but dry husks without fragrance, when compared with the beauty and fragrance of Melusina's kingdom. He feels that he has sacrificed his happiness in deserting the fairy and will not be comforted. The count rebukes him for being so melancholy: "Was also wollt Ihr? Dieses unbestimmte Sehnen und Verlangen ist das Grab aller Thatkraft. Raimund, Ihr müsst handeln" (VII, 261). His companions sing the praises of fame, wine, and women, and Raimund seems to be reconciled. Suddenly, however, he sees the pale form of Melusina among the dancers. He is once more in her power, and, to redeem the ring which he has thrown away, he descends into the grave. The piece ends in an apotheosis where love receives its reward for its faithfulness.

Grillparzer's sympathies throughout are with the romantic characters; our chief interest is in Melusina and Raimund, not with the characters of ordinary life. Raimund is not really interested in the ordinary affairs of life. To quote Volkelt: "Es wird als ein Fehltritt dargestellt, dass Raimund, neben anderen Motiven auch dem Drange nach Tätigkeit gehorchend (see 241, 247, 261 ff.) Melusinen untreu wird und sich in die Menschenwelt zurückbegibt. Und seine Erlösung besteht darin, dass er wieder in Melusinsens tatlos seliges Reich aufgenommen wird."¹ Raimund, it is true, does not find the "blaue Blume" of his yearning in "der Erde stillem Glück," as Rustan does. His yearning leads him much farther. Like Rustan, however, he turns away from actual life and seeks happiness in a state of quietism which is even more extreme.

"Ruhm und Unsterblichkeit," we read in one of Tieck's *Märchen*, "ist nur ein Hahnengeschrei, das früher oder später verschallt, das die Winde mit sich nehmen und das dann untergeht."² That is the

¹ J. Volkelt, Grillparzer als Dichter des Zwiespalts zwischen Gemüt und Leben. *Grillparzer Jahrbuch*, IV, 23.

² L. Tieck, "Die Sieben Weiber des Blaubart," *Schriften*, IX, 139.

golden chord which runs through so many of Grillparzer's works.¹ Medea compares earthly fame to a dream (V, 228). She forsakes the simple, unsophisticated life of nature, in which she had lived in perfect harmony with the cosmic forces, and aspires to develop into something higher, to become a Greek among the Greeks. Her attempt, however, is doomed to failure. Melitta is "das liebe Mädchen mit dem stillen Sinn," and to her is vouchsafed the happiness which is denied to Sappho. Phaon is of the same type: he is a self-absorbed fanciful character who becomes bewildered in the turmoils of life and finds composure only in solitude (IV, 156). The image of Sappho first became clear to him while communing with Nature under the silence of a starry sky:

Dort, an den Pulsen der süß schlummernden Natur,
In ihres Zaubers magisch-mächt'gen Kreisen,
Da breitet' ich die Arme nach dir aus;
Und wenn mir dann der Wolken Flockenschnee,
Des Zephyrs lauer Hauch, der Berge Duft,
Des bleichen Mondes silberweisses Licht
In eins verschmolzen um die Stirne floss,
Dann warst du mein, dann fühlt' ich deine Nähe,
Und Sapphos Bild schwamm in den lichten Wolken! (IV, 146).²

A simple life close to Nature is the ideal which he holds up to Melitta when he persuades her to flee with him:

Dort drüben überm alten, grauen Meer
Wohnt Sicherheit und Ruh' und Liebe!
O, folge! Unterm breiten Lindendach,
Das still der Eltern stilles Haus beschattet,
Wölbt, Teure, sich der Tempel unsers Glücks (IV, 202).

He prefers the happiness of an uneventful existence at Melitta's side to all the fame and glory which Sappho can offer him.

Sappho herself yearns for the same kind of happiness. In resolving to mingle with the world, she does not aspire to a life of activity, but desires to share with Phaon the joys of an idyllic, domestic life:

¹ W. Scherer, *op. cit.*, 205 f.

² Cf. Wordsworth's poem "There was a boy," *The Complete Poetical Works of W. Wordsworth* (Crowell edition), 137.

An seiner Seite werd' ich unter euch
 Ein einfach stilles Hirtenleben führen,
 Den Lorbeer mit der Myrte gern vertauschend,
 Zum Preise nur von häuslich stillen Freuden
 Die Töne wecken dieses Seitenspiels,
 Die ihr bisher bewundert und verehrt (IV, 143).

Her love-dream, however, is soon shattered and she recalls longingly the time when, absorbed only in her art, she gazed out on the world with childlike eyes, when perfect harmony reigned in her soul and love was to her still a wonderland. She, too, sings the praises of quietism, when she exclaims:

Weh dem, den aus der Seinen stillem Kreise
 Des Ruhms, der Ehrsucht eitler Schatten lockt!

She feels like one who is tossed about upon the waves, and who, gazing back, beholds in the distance the happy shores which he has left, and hears the voices of loved ones mingled with the roar of the surf. Such a one is borne along with the flood, and, when he does return, he finds that the flowers of spring have wilted, leaving behind only withered leaves (IV, 153; cf. also IV, 178, 191).

The quiet happiness of domestic life is the ideal which Hero's mother holds up to her daughter (VII, 20). King Alfonso, in the *Jüdin von Toledo*, finally perceives the folly of his course and tears himself free from the Jewess who has held him enthralled. In his best moments he, too, has had yearnings for the bliss of quietude:

Und wie die Bienen, die mit ihrer Ladung
 Des Abends heim in ihre Zellen kehren,
 Bereichert durch des Tages Vollgewinn,
 Uns finden in dem Kreis der Häuslichkeit,
 Nun doppelt süß durch zeitliches Entbehren (IX, 194).

Banchanus, like Rustan, finds happiness in that peace of soul which belongs to the man whose conscience is free from guilt (VI, 159). He refuses the honors and distinctions with which the king wishes to reward him for his faithful service. It has been his experience that such distinctions have only brought him misfortune, and he demands permission to retire to his ancestral castle, there to spend his days in solitude beside the grave of his murdered wife (VI, 253). Robert, duke of Normandy, too, has come to see the emptiness of earthly

honors and rank, and is quite prepared to renounce his claims to the throne of England. "Ja, ich dachte einst anders," he confesses, "aber diese Bilder sind entflohn und ich sehne mich nach Ruhe, nach Ruhe an der Seite meines Weibes, in den Armen meines Sohnes, in der Mitte meiner Unterthanen" (XI, 62). His wife is similarly disposed. The title of "Queen of England" has no charms for her: "Nicht verlang' ich zu herrschen als Fürstin über diese Lande; mein Herz ist für einen Thron nicht geschaffen, innig sehnt es sich nach Ruhe, nach Frieden, nach Liebe" (XI, 71, 72). She betrays the same desire for a life of retirement as we find expressed in *König Ottokars Glück und Ende*, where Margarete declares that she is quite ready to abdicate in favor of her rival:

O, könnt' ich jetzt, in diesem Augenblick,
 Weit hinter mir der Krone Glanz und Pracht,
 Nach Haimburg hin, in meiner Väter Schloss,
 Allwo ich sass nach meines Gatten Tod
 Und sein und meiner Kinder Fall beweinte!

 Ich habe diese Krone nicht gesucht! (VI, 22).

Lucretia, in the *Bruderzwist*, is also persuaded that the highest good is to be found in the ordinary, simple duties of daily life:

O, dass die Männer nur ins Weite streben!
 Sie nennen's Staat, das allgemeine Beste,
 Was doch ein Trachten nach dem Fernen nur.
 Gibt's denn ein Bestes, das nicht auch ein Nächstes?
 Mein Herz sagt nein, nächstpochend an die Brust (IX, 91).

To Kaiser Rudolf, whom Ottokar characterizes as "ein gar stiller Mann" (VI, 28), is vouchsafed the victory over the all-too-active king of Bohemia.

The ideal of the priest in *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* is that of a life apart from men and their activities, the old monastic ideal of the Middle Ages. Such a hermit life is to be Hero's lot. Just as the tower, her future home, stands isolated on the sea-shore, so shall she stand aloof from the ordinary interests of women and lead a self-centered life. This ideal, however, is vouchsafed to those only who avoid all that distracts; it is the fruit of that *Sammlung* which the priest declares to be—

den mächtigen Weltenhebel,
Der alles Grosse tausendfach erhöht
Und selbst das Kleine näher rückt den Sternen (VII, 47).

Only to those who possess this attribute are the spiritual voices audible and the sources of truth revealed:

Der Hintergrund der Wesen thut sich auf,
Und Götterstimmen, halb aus eigener Brust
Und halb aus Höhn, die noch kein Blick ermass (VII, 47).

The avoidance of active life is imperative for those who would preserve this sensitive nature. They must spend their lives in contemplation:

Doch wessen Streben auf das Innre führt,
Wo Ganzheit nur des Wirkens Fülle fördert,
Der halte fern vom Streite seinen Sinn,
Denn ohne Wunde kehrt man nicht zurück,
Die noch als Narbe mahnt in trüben Tagen (VII, 48).¹

That was Sappho's fate (IV, 178); it was also the fate of Libussa. Libussa leaves the still circle of the circumscribed life in order to become queen of the Bohemians, but the step is a fatal one. Hitherto she had lived with her sisters, Kascha and Tetka, apart from the world, reading the events of life by occult signs and following the dictates of the spirit within. Her sisters rebuke her for deciding to mingle with the active affairs of government. "Wer handelt, geht oft fehl," is Tetka's warning, to which Libussa replies: "Auch wer betrachtet" (VIII, 132). Kascha believes that association with men leads to deterioration:

Wer nicht wie Menschen sein will, schwach und klein,
Der halte sich von Menschennähe rein (VIII, 133).

She and Tetka are determined to lead a life of contemplation:

Sie aber, deine Schwestern, wollen einsam
Und ungestört vom lauten Pöbelschwarm
Dem geist'gen Anschau'n leben, der Betrachtung (VIII, 200, 201).

Libussa, like Sappho, responds to the call to active duty. She desires to become more human. The contemplation of moon and

¹ In the speech: "Du wähltest ewig unter Möglichkeiten," etc. (VII, 24), Grillparzer makes the priest say something which is not consistent with his character. Throughout the play the priest is represented as being entirely indifferent to the actualities of life.

stars, and the mysterious calculations with which her sisters busy themselves, seem shallow and monotonous to her. Like Sappho (IV, 148), she finds in life itself the highest purpose of life:

Dies Kleid, es reibt die Haut mit dichtern Fäden
Und weckt die Wärme bis zur tiefsten Brust;
Mit Menschen Mensch sein, dünkt von heut mir Lust.
Des Mitgefühles Pulseühl' ich schlagen,
Drum will ich dieser Menschen Krone tragen (VIII, 130).

She hesitates about sacrificing her personal freedom through marriage (VIII, 171), but finally overcomes even this feeling and acknowledges Primislaus as her lord (VIII, 197). The sacrifice of her individuality, however, was too great. Wlasta notices the change which has come over her mistress and warns Primislaus:

Wer seinem innern Wesen widerspricht,
Der ist gezwungen, ob durch sich, durch andre.
Glaubst du, Libussa sei Libussa noch,
Als Ordnerin des Hauses, als die Herrin
Von Mägen, die die laute Spindel drehn?
.
.
.
Sie fühlt es nicht, allein ihr Wesen fühlt's.
.
.
.
Sie sehnt sich nach den Schwestern, glaube mir,
Dort ist ihr Platz, hier ist nur ihre Stätte (VIII, 208).

Her sisters retire before the bustle and tumult of communal life, the beginning of which is marked by the founding of Prague. Libussa, on the contrary, tries to become reconciled to the new era of civilization which is dawning, but fades away like the shadow before the rising sun. "Libussa," writes Farinelli, "hat Gott gleichsam als seine Priesterin auf Erden geschaffen. Sie gehört wie Sappho, einer höheren Sphäre der Menschheit, ja kaum der Menschheit an. Sobald sie an irdisches Leben gekettet, dem rein Hohen, dem rein Edlen entsagt, sinkt sie dahin."¹ She is one of those romantic characters who cannot face the facts of life.

Zipper describes Rudolf the Second as one of the most difficult and complicated characters ever created by a dramatic poet, and goes on to say that the art which Grillparzer exhibits here is all the more admirable, "da dieser Charakter so stark im Banne des Quietismus steht,

¹ Grillparzer und Lope de Vega, 142.

dass er beinahe nicht wirken, blos sein will.”¹ He is represented as being of an aesthetic temperament, a man who is more interested in art and books than in the affairs of state. Even the news of a revolution in Hungary fails to arouse his attention. The affairs of the outer world only disturb him and make him irritable and impatient.

Rudolf, moreover, is perfectly aware of the lack of activity in his nature. When his nephew, Ferdinand, hints that the archduke Matthias would like an office in which he might have more scope for activity, he retorts:

Ist er denn thätig nicht?

Er reitet, rennt und ficht. Wir beide haben

Von unserm Vater Thatkraft nicht geerbt—

Allein ich weiss es, und er weiss es nicht (IX, 26).

The romantic, reactionary ideal of passivity and quietism is the ruling principle in Rudolf's life. Like Rousseau and Wordsworth, he finds true life in Nature, not in Man:

Drum ist in Sternen Wahrheit, im Gestein,

In Pflanze, Tier und Baum, im Menschen nicht.

Und wer's verstünde, still zu sein wie sie,

Gelehrig fromm, den eignen Willen meisternd,

Ein aufgespanntes, demutvolles Ohr,

Ihm würde leicht ein Wort der Wahrheit kund,

Die durch die Welten geht aus Gottes Munde (IX, 25).

As Volkelt says: “Er erblickt das Höchste in der stillen kampflosen Ordnung des Sternenhimmels; er möchte, dass sich die kleinen und grossen Geschehnisse der Menschen nicht durch Verstand und Leidenschaft, Wollen und Wagen, sondern durch leisen und unbewusst weisen Naturtrieb regeln. Er ist wie er selbst sagt, eine stille, gern heimisch in sich verweilende Natur (IX, 105) und misstraut daher dem Handeln mit seinen unaufhaltsamen, sich weithin erstreckenden und dabei sich verunreinigenden Wirkungen” (see 74, 82, 107).² That accounts for his conservatism, his lack of sympathy with the new spirit of the times. In progress he sees only disrespect for old customs and traditions (IX, 22).

The contrast between Rudolf and Ferdinand is very noticeable.

¹ A. Zipper, *Franz Grillparzer* (Reclams Universal-Bibliothek, No. 4443, Leipzig, o.J.), p. 89.

² *Grillparzer Jahrbuch*, IV, 19.

Rudolf is passive and self-absorbed; Ferdinand is active and fanatical. Rudolf does not dare to make a move:

Allein wer wagt's, in dieser trüben Zeit
Den vielverschlungenen Knoten der Verwirrung
Zu lösen eines Streichs (IX, 27).

Ferdinand shows his ruthless energy in driving from their homes twenty thousand of his subjects for religion's sake. Rudolf is ignorant of the plots which are being hatched by Klesel and the archdukes, until forced to believe by eye-witnesses like Herzog Julius and Prokop. The idea of taking action, even when his throne is in danger is distasteful to him. Were it possible, he would shake the burden of government from off his shoulders (IX, 75) and retire, as his uncle Charles the Fifth did on one occasion, and await death in a cloister (IX, 108).¹ Peace on earth is his most ardent wish, a wish which corresponds well with his passive nature. Throughout the play he is represented as wavering and undecided, dreamy and passive. Even when Don Cäsar is bleeding to death he hesitates and refuses to interfere (IX, 102).

In many respects Rudolf the Second is the counterpart of Grillparzer himself. "Seine Natur hatte eben so viele Analogien mit der seines Helden," writes Betty Paoli: "den unwiderstehlichen Hang zu träumerischer Contemplation, den idealen Zug, dem alles Vergängliche unwichtig scheint, die Schwierigkeit einen Entschluss zu fassen, die in grosser Zartheit des Gewissens wie in einem alle möglichen Folgen überschauenden Tief- und Fernblick ihren Grund hat, den oft auftauchenden, schmerzlichen Zweifel an der eigenen Kraft, den Widerwillen gegen alles Gewaltsame, und zugleich in seltsamen Widerspruch damit gepaart, eine Heftigkeit, die bis zur Wildheit, eine Strenge die bis zur unerbittlichen Härte gehen konnte."²

The archduke Matthias betrays the same passivity which has been found to be characteristic of Kaiser Rudolf. Neither the one nor the other has inherited *Tatkraft*, but Matthias does not recognize his weakness as Rudolf does. Without Klesel to spur him on, he could do nothing. In action he is vacillating and wavering:

¹ Cf. also "Klosterscene," *Werke* (Sauer), I, 200 f.

² *Grillparzer und seine Werke* (Stuttgart, 1875), 59, 60.

Das ist der Fluch von unserm edeln Haus:
 Auf halben Wegen und zu halber That
 Mit halben Mitteln zauderhaft zu streben (IX, 49).

These words, says Scherer, are characteristic in the mouth of him, "der mit unzulänglichen Mitteln immer das Allergrösste will und aus einem Extrem ins Andere fällt, aus Uebermut in Verzweiflung."¹ After the emperor's death is announced and he is hailed as his successor, he feels unable to face the duties and responsibilities of his new office and longs for rest and quietness (IX, 130). His dreams of activity and lofty ambition have vanished, just as was the case with Rustan:

O Bruder, lebtest du, und wär' ich tot!
 Gekostet hab' ich, was mir herrlich schien,
 Und das Gebein ist mir darob vertrocknet,
 Entschwunden jene Träume künft'ger Thaten,
 Machtlos wie du, wank' ich der Grube zu (IX, 131).

Klesel, in short, is the only really capable man of action in the whole play. Wallenstein, to be sure, is introduced at the end, but is not of sufficient importance in the development of the drama to be considered. Ferdinand, too, shows plenty of activity, but he is a fanatic. The favorite types are passive and quietistic.

Characteristic of romantic personages is their love for solitude and retirement. The bustle of the city and the activities of ordinary life are not congenial to the free development of the individual. That is why Libussa is opposed to the building of a city. She is afraid that if men are surrounded by walls they will no longer come into contact with the living breath of nature and will cease to feel their unity with the "Geist des All" (VIII, 202). Their development is liable to become conventional; like the brook which flows into the stream, they lose their individuality. Out in the solitude of the woods, however, they will be able to shake off the unnatural burden imposed upon them by society and can realize their true selves in a passive and contemplative existence.

Thus the praise of solitude and retirement is emphasized in all romantic books. Like Grillparzer's Rustan or Matthias, the romantic character is continually longing for *Ruhe* and *Stille* during his

¹ Fr. Grillparzer, *Vorträge und Aufsätze*, etc., 291.

aimless wanderings. So, for example, Tieck makes William Lovell say: "Itzt denke ich es mir so erquickend, in einer kleinen Hütte am Saume eines einsamen Waldes zu leben, die ganze Welt vergessend und auf ewig von ihr vergessen, nur mit der Erde bekannt, so weit mein Auge sieht, von keinem Menschen aufgefunden, nur vom Morgenwinde und dem Säuseln der Gesträuche begrüßt—eine kleine Heerde, ein kleines Feld—was braucht der Mensch zu seinem Glücke mehr?"¹ Franz Sternbald expresses the same wish where he says: "Freilich ist es etwas Schönes, ruhig nur sich zu leben, und recht früh das stille Land aufzusuchen, wo wir einheimisch seyn wollen."² Hölderlin, too, praises the silence of starry nights: "Dann wann es stille war, wie in den Tiefen der Erde, wo geheimnisvoll das Gold wächst, dann hob das schönere Leben meiner Liebe sich an."³

The same tone prevails all through Heinrich von Kleist's *Briefe an seine Braut*.⁴ Kleist knows of no situation so calculated to heighten love and its enjoyment as "ein stilles Landleben" (p. 228). "Ach Wilhelmine, schenkte mir der Himmel ein grünes Haus, ich gäbe alles Reisen und alle Wissenschaft und allen Ehrgeiz auf immer auf! Denn nichts als Schmerzen gewährt mir dieses ewig bewegte Herz, das wie ein Planet unaufhörlich in seiner Bahn zur Rechten und zur Linken wankt, und von ganzer Seele sehne ich mich, wonach die ganze Schöpfung und alle immer langsamer und langsamer rollenden Weltkörper streben, nach Ruhe" (p. 173). The ideal of "des Innern stiller Friede," so prominent in Grillparzer's characters, is also Kleist's ideal. He is not willing to accept an office, however dignified, for he despises the happiness which fame and position carry with them: "Aber das Entscheidenste ist dieses, dass selbst ein Amt, und wäre es eine Ministerstelle, mich nicht glücklich machen kann. Mich nicht, Wilhelmine—denn eines ist gewiss, ich bin einmal in meinem Hause glücklich, oder niemals" (p. 110).

Novalis, while showing considerable interest in the activities of life, was also filled with the desire to retire from the "tummelvollen

¹ Tiecks Schriften, VI, 167.

² Ibid., XVI, 59.

³ Hyperion, Hölderlins Gesammelte Dichtungen, herausgegeben von B. Litzmann, (Stuttgart, o. J.; Cotta), II, 124.

⁴ Heinrich von Kleist, Briefe an seine Braut, herausgegeben von Karl von Biedermann (Breslau, 1884).

Schauplatz dieser Welt, in den stillen Frieden des häuslichen Lebens."¹ "Ruhe," he tells us in his *Journal*, "ist der wahre Zustand des Menschen."² External circumstances do not disturb him and those like him, "deren Welt ihr Gemüth, deren Thätigkeit die Betrachtung, deren Leben ein leises Bilden ihrer innern Kräfte ist." Quietism is the ideal of such men. "Keine Unruhe treibt sie nach aussen. Ein stiller Besitz genügt ihnen, und das unermässliche Schauspiel ausser ihnen reizt sie nicht darin aufzutreten, sondern kommt ihnen bedeutend und wunderbar genug vor, um seiner Betrachtung ihre Musse zu widmen."³

The passive, contemplative life, so prominent in Grillparzer's characters, was in short the ideal of romanticism. That is the sort of life which Friedrich Schlegel extols in his *Idylle über den Müssigang*, when he says: "Je göttlicher ein Mensch oder ein Werk der Menschen ist, je ähnlicher werden sie der Pflanze. Diese ist unter allen Formen der Natur die sittlichste und die schönste. Und so wäre ja das höchste, vollendetste Leben nichts als ein reines Vegetiren."⁴ This ideal Schlegel finds best realized in oriental life: "Nur Italiener wissen zu gehen und nur die im Orient verstehen zu liegen; wo hat sich aber der Geist zarter und süsser gebildet als in Indien?"⁵ Such a passive, plantlike development is also praised as the highest in *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*. "Die Gewächse sind die unmittelbarste Sprache des Bodens; jedes neue Blatt, jede sonderbare Blume, ist irgend ein Geheimnis, das sich hervordrängt, und das, weil es sich vor Liebe und Lust nicht bewegen und nicht zu Worten kommen kann, eine stumme, ruhige Pflanze wird. Findet man in der Einsamkeit eine solche Blume, ist es da nicht als wäre alles umher verklärt, und hielten sich die kleinen befiederten Töne am liebsten in ihrer Nähe auf. Man möchte vor Freude weinen, und abgesondert von der Welt nur seine Hände und Füsse in die Erde stecken, um Wurzeln zu

¹ Erasmus an Fritz. Fr. von Hardenberg, *Nachlese*, herausgegeben von einem Mitglied der Familie. 2. Aufl. (Gotha, 1883), 76; cf. also Novalis *Briefwechsel*, herausgegeben von J. M. Raich (Mainz, 1880), 5, 12, 121, 134, 138.

² Novalis *Schriften* (Heilborn), I, 294.

³ Heinrich von Ofterdingen, Novalis *Schriften*, I, 94.

⁴ *Lucinde* (Reclam 320, Leipzig, o.J.), 29.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 28.

treiben, und nie diese glückliche Nachbarschaft zu verlassen"¹ Novalis, indeed, as Brandes has pointed out,² goes even farther than Schlegel in this regard and would crystallize life in the dead forms of mathematics. "Das höchste Leben ist Mathematik. Reine Mathematik ist Religion. Zur Mathematik gelangt man nur durch eine Theophanie. Der Mathematiker weiss alles. Alle Thätigkeit hört auf, wenn das Wissen eintritt. Der Zustand des Wissens ist Eudämonie, selige Ruhe der Beschauung, himmlischer Quietismus."³

The study of Grillparzer's life reveals the fact that he, too, was of a retiring disposition and preferred to be alone with himself. He possessed many of the same qualities as his brother Karl, whom he describes as exhibiting, from youth up, "Spuren eines zurückgezogenen, menschenscheuen Charakters."⁴ Like Sappho he longs to recall the happy days "in denen er in den Armen der Poesie schwelgte, wo er sich noch erhaben fühlte über die Welt um sich her."⁵ Discouraged with himself and with the conditions prevailing in his native country, he is resolved, like the romantic wanderers, to seek solace in a roving life. "Hinaus in die Welt, in anderen Gegenden, von anderen Menschen umgeben, wird vielleicht mein Geist wieder die glückliche Stimmung gewinnen, die mir die Tage meiner früheren Jugend so selig verfließen machte, vielleicht dass die Alpen der Schweiz in mir jenen Geist wieder, der mit vollen Strömen sich in *Blanka von Kastilien* ergoss, und der jetzt, von der Last meiner Laune niedergedrückt, auch nicht den kleinsten Versuch macht, sich wieder aufzurichten."⁶ In all the European countries, however, he finds the same conditions staring him in the face, and would fain seek rest and happiness in one of the remote South Sea islands: "Aber du nimm mich auf, seliges Eiland, das nur selten des Europäers verpestender Fuss betritt, an dessen Klippen die Gefahr wacht . . . nimm mich auf in deinen stillen Schoss, Otaheiti, das wie ein Feenland meiner Phantasie vorschwebt, nach dem alle meine Wünsche fliegen,

¹ *Novalis Schriften*, I, 172, 173.

² *Die romantische Schule in Deutschland*, 211.

³ *Novalis Schriften*, II, i, 223.

⁴ Glossy und Sauer, *Grillparzers Briefe und Tagebücher*, I, 126 f.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 30; cf. *Sappho*, IV, 152, 153.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 31.

und das ich mir in einsamen Stunden der Melancholie mit so reizenden Farben male. Gewähre nur eine Hütte für mich und Georg und ein Weib, das, auf deinen Fluren geboren, in ihres Gatten Glück ihre Seeligkeit, in einem Büschel Federn all' ihre Wünsche erfüllt findet. Gib nur wenige Bäume in deren Schatten ich ruhen kann, deren Früchte meine einfache Nahrung sind, und ich will froh die Hände zum Himmel heben und rufen: Ich bin glücklich!"¹

All through his life, in fact, Grillparzer showed a decided aversion for society. "Ich bin nur ein Mensch, wenn ich allein bin," he wrote in his *Journal* in the year 1831; "die Gesellschaft findet an mir nur zu häufig einen Klotz."² This aversion to mixing with men stood very much in his way and hindered greatly his advancement. It was that which made it impossible for men like Graf Stadion to befriend him.³ "Bekanntschaften wollte ich nicht machen," he wrote to Kathi Fröhlich from Paris,⁴ and in another letter, written a few years earlier, he states: "Die Gesellschaft gefiel mir nicht ganz, aber vielleicht nur, weil mir überhaupt keine Gesellschaft gefällt."⁵ That is the tone which prevails in so many of his letters.⁶

Grillparzer, indeed, had quite another ideal. Like the various characters, just described, he longed for rest and quietness. Paris failed to interest him. "Was brauch' ich all das Zeug zu sehen und zu hören. Werde Wien wieder angenehm finden, wo ich wenigstens allein sein kann."⁷ He cannot understand why he took such a trip. "Was war ihr Zweck? Zu sehen? Ich suche Zerstreuung? Zerstreut wäre ich wohl genug. Wenn ihr Zweck aber Sammlung, Fassung, Ermutigung gewesen wäre, so bin ich davon so weit entfernt, als da ich von Hause abging."⁸ "Orden und Prachtpokale," he

¹ Glossy und Sauer, *Briefe und Tagebücher*, II, 32, 33.

² *Ibid.*, 95; cf. Steffens' description of Novalis. "Novalis konnte in grösseren Gesellschaften oder in Gegenwart von Fremden lange stillschweigen in Nachdenken versunken dasitzen. Ein zartes Gefühl schien ihm die Gegenwart verschlossener und innerlich entfremdeter Naturen zu verrathen; nur wo ihm verwandte Geister entgegenkamen, gab er sich ganz hin. Dann sprach er gern und ausführlich und erschien im höchsten Grade lehrhaft."—*Nachlese*, 262.

³ A. Sauer, *Grillparzers sämtliche Werke*, XIX, 112 f.

⁴ *Briefe und Tagebücher*, I, 123.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 102.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 121, 122, 193, 201, 254, etc.

⁷ *Sämtliche Werke*, XX, 64.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 75.

stated in a letter to Archduke Maximilian, "öffentliche Anerkennung und Belobung, so erhebend sie von der einen Seite sind, haben doch von der anderen etwas der nach innen gerichteten Natur des Dichters Fernstehendes und Fremdes, ja Verwirrendes."¹ The plantlike development, which was the ideal of Friedrich Schlegel and Novalis, was also the ideal which he gives expression to in the poem, *Pflanzenwelt* (I, 174):

Das Höchste ist, das Höchste bleibt
 Ein enig sicher Geist,
 Von aussen nicht,
 Von innen nicht,
 Durch nichts beengt, was Störung spricht,
 Und Unterwerfung heisst.
 Denn wie die Pflanze steht er da,
 Und saugt in sich den Saft;
 Treibt ihn empor
 In Halm und Rohr,
 Und bringt als Blum' und Frucht hervor
 Die Sammlung seiner Kraft.

In the *Kloster bei Sandomir* (XIII, 193 f.) he represents Count Starschensky as finding in the stillness of the cloister that repose of soul which a life full of vicissitudes and disappointments has denied him.²

The Romantic school was not able to produce a great drama because *Sehnsucht*, which is the cardinal feature of all romantic and quietistic characters, does not lend itself easily to dramatic representation. Firmness of will is essential to the really tragic character and that was possessed neither by Grillparzer himself nor by the majority of the persons whom he has portrayed. "Aus dem Quietismus," writes Emil Kuh, "spriesst keine echte Tragödie; er ist das Ziel, nicht der Ausgangspunkt derselben. . . . So wenig Staaten sich aufbauen, wichtige Unternehmungen wachsen, menschliche Kräfte überhaupt sich entwickeln können, wenn der Wert unseres Strebens und Thuns an sich in Frage gestellt wird, so wenig kann das Spiel

¹ *Briefe und Tagebücher*, I, 167.

² Grillparzer approved the plan of his cousin, Marie Rizy, to retire to a convent (cf. the poem "Von der Nachfolge Christi"). "Ihm erschien diese Weltflucht nicht als eine Askese. Uebte er selber doch obwohl mitten im Leben stehend, im Grunde die gleiche Flucht vom Leben."—H. Rau, *Grillparzer und sein Liebesleben* (Berlin 1904), 71.

der Kräfte ein Abbild des Lebens, in der Tragödie, vollständig sich entfalten, wenn der Geist, der zum Verzichten antreibt, der Werkmeister und Bauherr des Dramas ist. Dies jedoch ist er bedingt in dem Drama Grillparzers."¹

III. THE COMMONPLACE CHARACTER

A third type of character which may be considered as an outcome of the romantic movement is the commonplace character of ordinary life. Here, too, the influence of romanticism may be traced to some extent in Grillparzer's persons.

"Return to nature" was the watchword of Rousseau and the French romanticists, of the Storm and Stress, and of the English naturalistic movement. In France the heroic, conventional characters of Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire were superseded by the more natural types of Diderot, Beaumarchais, and Victor Hugo. Count Almaviva, in Beaumarchais' *Barbier de Seville*, circumvents old Dr. Bartholo, with the help of the cunning barber, Figaro. Again in the *Mariage de Figaro* the barber by his cleverness manages to outwit the count. "What is nobility," he says in a monologue: "Vous vous êtes donné la peine de naître, et rien de plus; du reste, homme assez ordinaire."² Victor Hugo finds his heroes among commonplace characters like the convict, Jean Valjean, and the hunchback of Notre Dame. The same development may be observed in England in the characters of Richardson and Fielding, and later in those of Wordsworth. In the preface to the *Lyrical Ballads* (1800) Wordsworth states that "the principal object proposed in these Poems was to choose incidents and situations from common life, and to relate or describe them, throughout, as far as was possible in a selection of language really used by men, and at the same time, to throw over them a certain coloring of imagination, whereby the ordinary things should be presented to the mind in an unusual aspect."³ Wordsworth's favorite types are the simple characters of ordinary life—Ruth, the Highland Girl, Michael, Peter Bell, or old Simon Lee. The same holds true of the works of the German Storm and Stress, where we find characters like Wagner's *Kindermörderin*, or Schiller's *Musikus*

¹ *Op. cit.*, 202.

² *Le mariage de Figaro*, Act. V, sc. iii.

³ Wordsworth's *Prefaces and Essays on Poetry* (Boston: Heath & Co., 1892),

Miller and his daughter Luise. That, too, was the conception of Novalis, Friedrich Schlegel, and the German romanticists. "Die Welt muss romantisirt werden," writes Novalis, and adds: "Indem ich dem Gemeinen einen hohen Sinn, dem Gewöhnlichen ein geheimnisvolles Ansehn, dem Bekannten die Würde des Unbekannten, dem Endlichen einen unendlichen Schein gebe, so romantisire ich es."¹ Friedrich Schlegel praises the qualities of simplicity and naturalness found in Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*: "Was hier vorgeht und was hier gesprochen wird, ist nicht ausserordentlich, und die Gestalten welche zuerst hervortreten, sind weder gross noch wunderbar."²

Several of Grillparzer's persons belong to the commonplace type praised by the romanticists. Leon, the hero of the comedy, *Weh dem, der lügt*, is a character chosen from the lower walks of life, but one who by his cleverness and resource puts to shame the noble-born Atalus, who is helpless in the situation in which he finds himself. Bancbanus is also a very ordinary, pedantic kind of man, but Grillparzer has so depicted him that we are impressed by the wonderfulness of his character. The pedantic correctness with which he performs each duty, even to the neglect of his own rights as a man, is the outcome of a faithfulness deeply rooted in his nature—a faithfulness which raises him high above the ordinary, and lends that dignity and infinite significance to the commonplace which Novalis has characterized in the word "romantisiren."

Isaac in the *Jüdin von Toledo* is also a commonplace character, but he is treated from the realistic rather than from the romantic point of view. There is nothing idealistic in his nature; his gross, sordid, materialistic character is always conspicuous. Even in the presence of his murdered daughter he thinks only of his money-bags (IX, 215).

In the foregoing study it has been shown that Grillparzer prefers to treat in his dramas characters who are distinctly romantic. At another time I shall consider some of the problems in the various plays and shall try to show that in them also Grillparzer's leaning was toward romanticism.

¹ Novalis *Schriften*, II, i, 304; cf. also Klingsohr's statement with regard to poetry: "Die beste Poesie liegt uns ganz nahe, und ein gewöhnlicher Gegenstand ist nicht selten ihr liebster Stoff."—*Sämliche Werke* (Meissner), II, 156.

² J. Minor, *Fr. Schlegels Jugendschriften*, II, 165.



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